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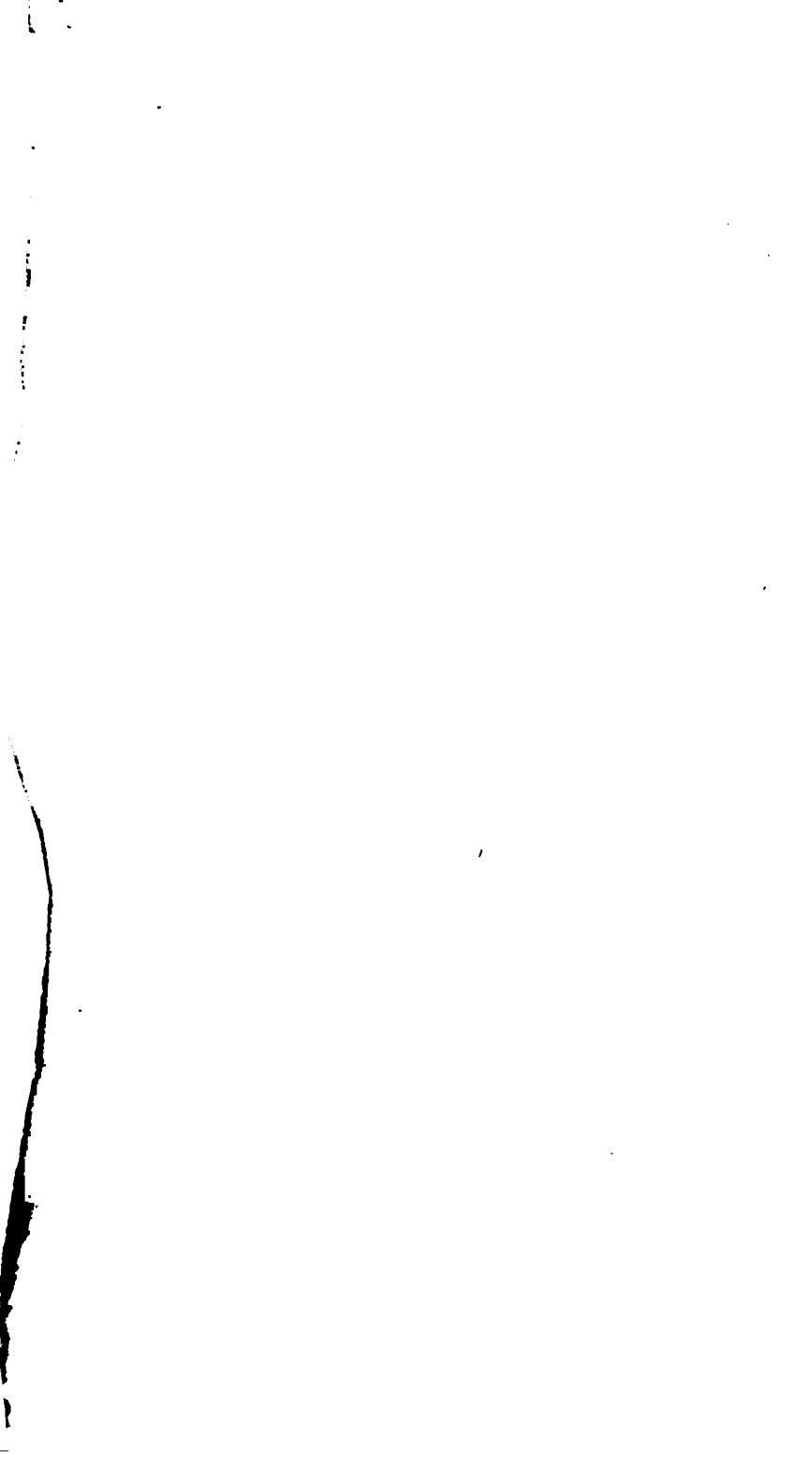
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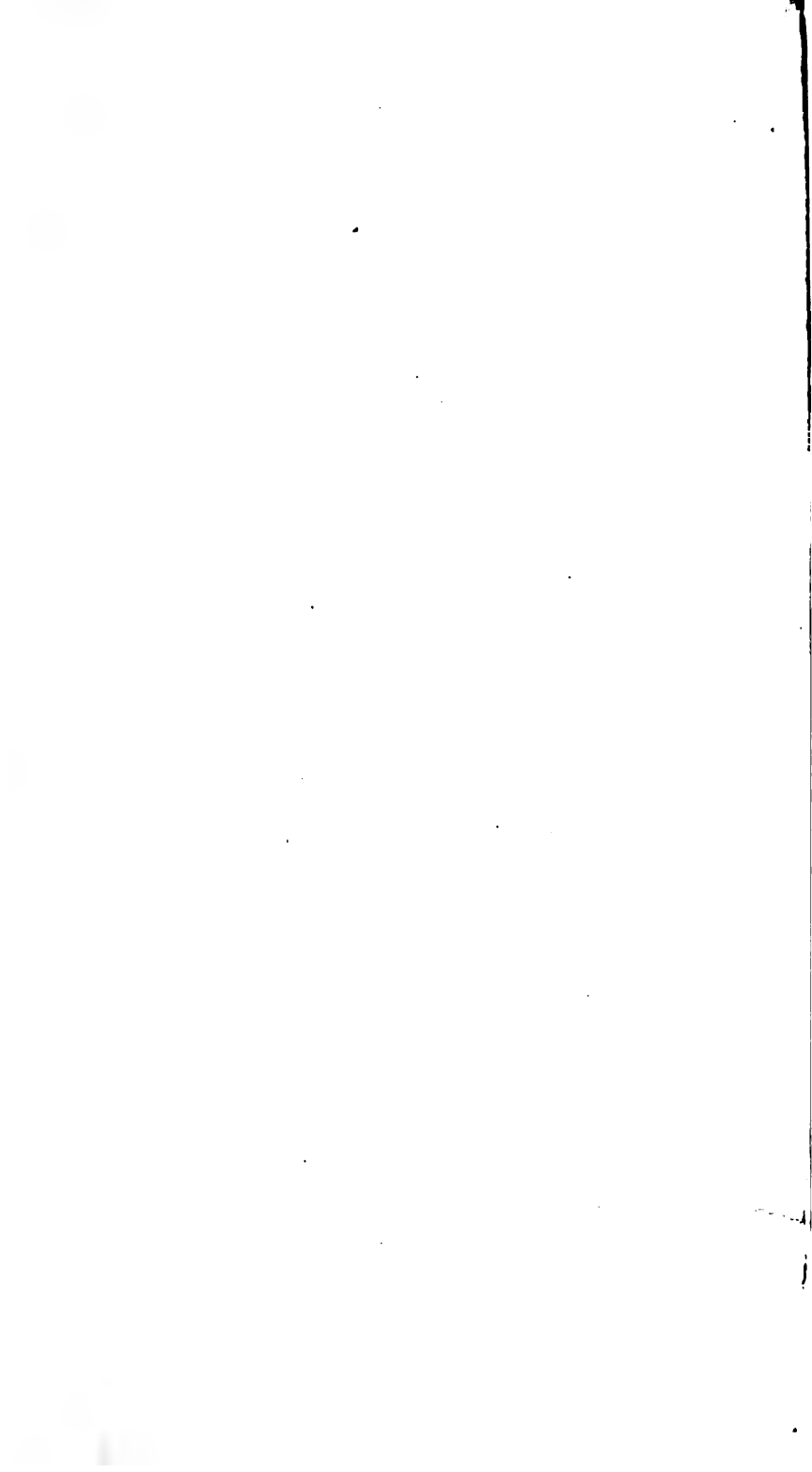
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DEAN V. VAN
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VOLUME 1

Historical Collections

RELATIVE TO THE

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FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE

UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

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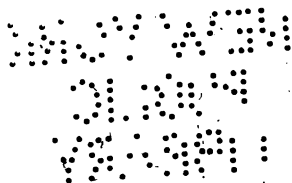
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PREFACE.

THE literary age in which we live has been eminently fruitful in productions that tend to elucidate the history and antiquities of our towns and counties. General history appears to be completely exhausted, and the mine of topographical inquiry will, for many years to come, exercise the constant assiduity of the literary world. In fact, there appear to be no limits to inquiries of this description and even seven folio volumes have been found scarcely adequate to illustrate the history of a single county *. It may, however, admit of a serious doubt, whether the result of such stupendous labours will prove of any real advantage to the cause of truth, or tend materially to the advancement of our national history. The object of their compilers, who are in general, of the tribe emphatically called *Antiquaries*,—a race, partial, narrow-minded, and blind to the real interests of mankind,—is, for the most part, confined to the deciphering of dilapidated tombstones and worm-eaten charters, the restoring of heraldic shields and obsolete gentalogies, and other matters of equal importance; while the great cause of historic truth is thrown contemptuously into the shade. But while we thus presume to exercise a rigorous criticism on the labours of these men, and maintain that they are, with few exceptions, devoid of general interest, we must at the same time confess, that they are replete with information highly interesting to those who live within the circle of their

* *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire* have been lately completed in seven folio volumes, by John Nichols, F. A. S.; and an *Account of Yorkshire*, equally ponderous, by the Rev. Thomas Whitaker, is announced to the public.

observation ; but beyond that boundary they rarely pass, unless for the purpose of being deposited on the shelves of a public library where they lie for ages disregarded and unknown.

The work, which is now offered to the public, labours under none of these disadvantages. It embraces a copious fund of historical and political information, which may be read with advantage in every province of the British Empire. The portion occupied by antiquarian research is necessarily confined within contracted limits, as Belfast is a town of modern creation and contains not a single object deserving the notice of the antiquary : but that which is devoted to the illustration of her history, is highly interesting and important. In this respect Belfast aspires to a conspicuous figure in the scale of the British Empire, and the acts of her inhabitants have long been the object of horror or admiration to a large portion of the civilized world. Her virtues, however, assume on comparison a decided predominancy over her vices, and the latter must undoubtedly throw but a slight stain on her character, when brought into competition with the glorious measures in which she has so frequently and so largely participated. For where, throughout the extent of the British empire, has there existed a body of men of equal number and respectability, which has taken so lively an interest in the cause of genuine liberty, or so repeatedly stepped forward to vindicate or secure the constitutional rights of the nation. The glorious stand which they made against the arbitrary designs of Charles I. and his impetuous minister Strafford (p. 12.) the daring usurpation of Cromwell, (p. 52.) and the bigotted and intolerant designs of James II. (p. 58.) must endear them to every friend of freedom. Their affectionate reception of the glorious deliverer, King William, " who appeared (says Belsham) born for the purpose of opposing tyranny, persecution, and oppression, indicates the light in which they viewed the Revolution of 1688, (p. 78.) and the spirited show of opposition displayed in the year 1715 and 1745, (p. 89.) when the sons of James II. vainly attempted to obtrude their hereditary claims on the nation, is an ample testimony of their abhorrence of " Popery and arbitrary power." The descent at Carrickfergus in 1700 once more beheld them in arms against foreign invaders (p. 102.) and to their magnanimous exertions is Ireland indebted for the institution

of the Volunteers, whose disinterested efforts in favour of the extension of Irish commerce and the cause of constitutional liberty will never be forgotten (p. 138.) The share which Belfast enjoyed in the promotion of these objects, is placed in a striking point of view in the Collections now offered to the public, and it must be acknowledged that the celebrated Henry Flood, on his enrolment into her First Volunteer Company, did not pronounce an overstrained compliment, when he declared, that he "had always honoured Belfast as an eminent seat of commercial and constitutional spirit, and as the fruitful parent of men worthy to be called so, by being such as they." (p. 212.) The celebration of the centenary of the glorious Revolution of 1688 once more sealed their attachment to the principles of that great event, (p. 327.) and the exultation, with which they hailed the downfall of civil and spiritual despotism in France in the year 1789, affords a decisive proof of their disinterested solicitude for the universal diffusion of liberty and peace (p. 330, 352.) Their joy was expressed by affectionate congratulations to the French patriots (p. 352, 376) and by annual commemorations of the destruction of the bastille, conducted with pomp and magnificence, and calculated to impress on innumerable spectators, a conviction of the vast importance which they attached to this glorious occurrence, and sensations of gratitude to the divine providence "for dispersing the political clouds which had hitherto darkened our hemisphere," (p. 348 371.) But their exultation was not of long continuance. A crusade against the newly-acquired liberties of the French people was undertaken by the despots of the continent in the year 1792. It proved at first unsuccessful, and furnished our townsmen "overflowing with joy, publicly to declare their happiness at the glorious success of the French arms against innumerable hosts of enemies," (p. 383.) In the following year 1793, England joined this detestable confederacy, and the French nation, goaded into madness and desperation by foreign enemies and domestic foes, committed the most horrible enormities, and, after a long and desperate struggle, was finally compelled once more to receive the disgusting embrace of priestcraft and despotism. From the commencement of the history of this town to the close of the year 1790, the utmost harmony appears to have prevailed among the inhabitants. They were all embarked in one common cause—the cause of constitutional liberty. They had seen their efforts repeatedly crowned with success, and their true line of conduct con-

sisted in pressing forward with redoubled zeal for the attainment of their desires in the path prescribed by the constitution. For this purpose, a society was instituted at Belfast in the beginning of the year 1790, the sole object of which was to effect a reform of parliament on constitutional principles: (p. 334.) It was denominated the Whig Club, and in its formation Lord Charlemont had the principal share.

But this mode of proceeding was now discovered to be tedious for the ardent spirit of some of our townsmen. Adopting in their utmost and dangerous extent, the principles of liberty and equality and deluded by the success which had attended the exertions of the French, they began about this period to entertain hopes of effecting an entire revolution in this country by force of arms, and of forming an independent republic, founded on the basis of universal suffrage,* and the unrestrained admission of *Roman Catholics* to every office in the state. Such was the object which entered into the views of the leading conspirators, but despairing of being able to effect any thing without the conjunction of the Roman Catholics, they eagerly solicited the co-operation of that numerous body. Accordingly advances towards conciliation and union were made on the part of the Protestants in the summer of 1790,† which were as ardently embraced by their Roman Catholic countrymen—and“ it is unquestionable (observes Thomas Addis Emmet,) that when that body saw it self likely to be supported by a considerable portion of the protestants, it manifested a perfect willingness to make common cause.” The operation of the press, that most important engine in popular proceeding, was employed with singular success in promoting this extraordinary coalition. The letter of William Todd Jones to the volunteers reviewed at Belfast on the 12th of July 1784 was republished and the *Argument in behalf of the Catholics of Ireland by Theobald Wolfe Tone*, dated from Belfast August 1, 1791‡. is said to have produced

* See *T. A. Emmet's Essay*, p. 27, and *Essays by Alexander Knox*, p. 163.

† The original prospectus of the association of united Irishmen was circulated in Dublin in June 1791. “Its peculiar style marked throughout with that turbulent and gloomy rhetoric which had distinguished the well known *Helots Letters* (composed by Dr DRENNAN of this town) made it scarcely possible to doubt, that the same hand which had formerly been busied in stimulating the Ulster Volunteers, was now employed to diffuse, through the kingdom at large, a better concocted and far more deadly poison.” See *Essays by Alex. Knox, Lond.* 1799. (p. 139) from whence may be derived much curious information relative to the real designs of the United Irishmen.

‡ An edition of this pamphlet, to the amount of 6000 copies, was republished by the *United Irishmen* of BELFAST. The 5th edition is said, in the Title, to be reprinted by order of the *United Irishmen*; 1792. It received a solid confutation in a Tract entitled *Arguments in behalf of the Romanists reconsidered. Dub.* 1792.

astonishing effects on the minds of its readers. A declaration in favour of the civil rights of the Roman Catholics was immediately adopted by the first Belfast volunteer company—this resolution drew from the Romanists assembled at Jamestown and Elphin (Aug 23, 24,) others expressive of their thanks, which were forwarded to Belfast; and “this at the time almost unheeded event was the first foundation of an union, which in its progress seemed destined to strike a tremendous blow against British connexion.”*

Such were the steps preparatory to the formation of the celebrated SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, which was instituted at Belfast in the following month of October—“for the purpose of promoting a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an UNION OF POWER among Irishmen of ALL religious

* *Emmet's Essay*, p: 15.—The Reply to the Jamestown Address having been omitted at page 358, is here inserted:—

At a general meeting of all the Volunteer Companies of Belfast, held at the Linen Hall, October 4, 1791,—*Resolved unanimously*, That the following answer be transmitted to the Roman Catholics assembled at Jamestown the 23d, and at Elphin the 24th of August last.

Gentlemen.—It gives us the highest satisfaction to find by your letters of the 23d and 24th of August last, that the sentiments contained in our declaration should so heartily meet your approbation; and we shall be exceedingly happy to cultivate a correspondence with you on every occasion where our joint efforts may tend to restore to Irishmen their long lost rights.

You are, or ought to be engaged in our cause; it is a National cause. We have spoken:—We have said that the constitution of this country, if it desires or deserves to be free, must comprehend *The People*. We have said that the first law is the general will, and the determination of that will must be—that every citizen, without distinction of birth, possessions, or talents, should enjoy the natural right of serving God according to his conscience, and the power of defending these rights.—We have said, that no man can be free, whose life, property, and opinions are at the discretion of others, in whose appointment he has no choice, and over whose conduct he has no controul.—We have said, therefore, that our great object was to effectuate an adequate representation of the people in parliament, to destroy the despotism of discretionary obligation, and to conduct the community by the impulse of its own will. Of this will, you form a great part.—If to be free, a nation has only to will it, let us will it,—let all our enemies rest with the bones of our ancestors. Differing in our religion as we differ in our faces, but resembling each other in the great features of humanity; let us unite to vindicate the rights of our common nature; let the decisive and unanimous voice of the society at large, of the body of the people, the mighty and irresistible whole, be heard. It will,—it must be obeyed.

(Signed)

WILLIAM SINCLAIRE, *Chairman*.

persuasions." (p. 358.)—And in their *first* declaration signed by Robert Simms of Belfast, they state, as their "heavy grievance," that they "have no national government," and "as its effectual remedy," they pledge themselves to procure, by all due means, a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament, including Irishmen of every religious persuasion. The efforts of this society were at the same time powerfully seconded by a declaration of the Catholic Society of Dublin, (signed by Theob. Mc Kenna, secretary Oct. 21. 1791.) who loudly proclaim their conviction, "that the *mere repeal* of the laws against them will prove but *feebly* beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the *concurrence* of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations, forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island.—Countrymen! too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions to each other, *the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either*. Why should a diversity of sentiment, so usual, where the matter in debate is abstruse or important *separate* those whom heaven place together for mutual benefit and consolation." But the most efficient advocate in allaying the religious animosities of the contending sects, and gradually leading the members of the new society from disaffection to treason, from treason to open insurrection, was the well known paper entitled the Northern Star, which never ceased, from its commencement in Belfast, in January 1792, until its forcible dissolution in 1797, to pursue with undeviating devotion the interests of the cause of the United Irishmen. (p. 361.)

During the year 1792, the society received daily accessions of strength, and while the peaceful friends of *constitutional reform* were eagerly bent on the attainment of that salutary object, their *United* townsmen displayed the most unremitting zeal in promoting the interests of the conspiracy in which they had engaged. Innumerable declarations, addresses, and resolutions, expressive of their sentiments, were poured from the press in defiance of the menaces of the Attorney General; Jacobin Clubs were established, (p. 388.) and the volunteers—"the soldiers of liberty"—were exhorted to be firm, to increase their numbers, to perfect their discipline, to unite and persevere, and as they had saved their country from foreign invasion, and rescued her from foreign legislation—should a contest for liberty ever become necessary, we trust you will rescue her from internal

oppression." (p. 393.) Early in the following year 1793, the first Belfast Regiment of *National Volunteers* was embodied.—Every thing now conspired to indicate that the conspiracy was ready to explode, and the alarming report of the secret committee of the House of Lords justified the serious apprehensions of government.* On the 11th of March, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council prohibiting meetings of armed associations unauthorised by law (p. 417.) By this seasonable exercise of authority, the schemes of the conspirators were considerably retarded, though their zeal remained unabated.—But it was not till after the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam in March 1795, when it was perceived to be the unalterable determination of government to withhold the weight and influence of the Roman Catholics from the exercise of legislative and executive authority in the state, that the conspiracy assumed renovated strength. An entire military reorganization of the United system took place in Belfast, and the most vigorous measures began to be adopted, (p. 434.) Alarmed at these appearances, and having received positive information of an intended invasion of the French, the government found it necessary (October 1796) to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to the operation of this law, several of the inhabitants of this town are indebted for the preservation of their lives from the bayonet, or an ignominious death on a scaffold. In the month of December 1796 the Country was miraculously saved from the horrors of a French invasion; the most insidious tergiversation was employed on this occasion by Arthur O'Connor and Counsellor Sampson, who were deeply engaged in the conspiracy, to dissuade the inhabitants from adopting a constitutional plan of defence, but their efforts were unavailing. A Corps was immediately embodied, and to the great chagrin of the conspirators, joined by many of those who had

* "This imitation of republican principles and language, accompanied with extravagant demands and menaces, published with a view to intimidation, alarmed all men of title, rank, and hereditary fortune, dissolved the opposition in parliament, prompted timid men to cling about the castle, or wish for an Union with Britain; and inclined even some resolute and determined patriots to postpone a reform to calmer times."—Such was the effect of these violent and precipitate measures, as the judicious Editor of the *Belfast Politics* observes in his Preface to that work, p. viii. printed at Belfast by H. Joy & Co. 1794.

hitherto furnished ground of suspicion that their object was not constitutional reform, but convulsion and revolution.

During the year 1797, the town of Belfast exhibited a shocking scene of confusion and outrage—of assassinations, informations, arrests, and military violences; and to such a state of subjection were the conspirators reduced by the unremitting vigilance and exertions of the civil and military powers that while insurrection had burst out, in the following year, and was blazing forth in various parts of Ireland, not the slightest symptom of commotion betrayed itself here—and the editor clearly recollects the death-like silence which pervaded the streets when the counties of Down and Antrim resounded with the noise and tumult of battle. The usual consequence attendant on an unsuccessful insurrection now began to appear, multitudes of prisoners were brought in from the surrounding country, and of these several were devoted to an untimely end and by the summary mode of Court-martial.—Such was the unfortunate issue of this ill-fated conspiracy in the North of Ireland.

In the South, the progress of the insurrection was not so speedily arrested, and as the conspirators in that quarter were composed almost exclusively of Roman Catholics, our townsmen now enjoyed a favorable opportunity of observing whether they stood firm to their solemn profession, as United Irishmen,—“that of promoting a brotherhood of affection, and an indentify of interest among their countrymen of all religious persuasions.” Such indeed had been the lofty hopes entertained of them by their fellow-conspirators of the protestant persuasion, but they now experienced a mortifying disappointment. No sooner had the rebellion exploded, than the Roman Catholics displayed all the bigotry and intolerance of the middle ages.*—Acts of the most savage barbarity were committed on their unoffending protestant neighbours, and “no fact is more certain (says J. B. Gordon an inhabitant of the County of Wexford, for 30 years,) than that the common people of the Catholic persuasion in all parts, whenever they had hopes of success in the rebellion, uniformly declared, that no other form of worship than their own must

* See Belshams Memoirs of the Reign of George III. Vol. 3. p. 593.

ever be permitted and that God had never intended that any other should have place."—Such was the awful prospect which now presented itself to the eyes of the Protestant conspirators, and of which they had been repeatedly forewarned—in despair and disgust they relinquished all thoughts of persisting in an association so fatal and delusive, and breaking their pikes, retired peaceably to their habitations. Among those who suffered the sentence of the law at Belfast was James Dickey, an attorney, and leader of the insurgents at the battle of Antrim. He solemnly declared a short time before his execution that the Presbyterians of the North perceived too late that if they had succeeded in their designs, they would ultimately have had to contend with the Roman Catholics.*

* When we reflect on the inveterate hostility which has subsisted among Protestants and Roman Catholics ever since the reformation, and on the sense which the former has invariably entertained of the inevitable tendency of the principles of the latter to promote arbitrary power in the state, and intolerance and persecution in the church, it must surely excite surprise that a coalition should ever have been formed between such conflicting parties, for the purpose of extending the bounds of civil and religious liberty. It will not, I hope, appear irrelevant to the design of this publication, to devote a few lines to the consideration of the motives which actuated each party to lay aside their mutual jealousies and animosities, and unite in an association apparently so anomalous and extraordinary.—Ever since the overthrow of the degrading yoke of priestcraft and despotism in France, (a nation nominally Roman Catholic) the Irish Protestants had entertained new and favourable views of the disposition of Roman Catholics to liberty and toleration. "A Catholic country," says (T. A. Knappet,) had, by its conduct, contradicted the frequently repeated dogma, that Catholics are *waist for liberty*."—Such was the principal motive, combined with the visible contempt into which the Papal power had fallen on the continent, and the diffusion of liberal and philosophic principles, which we may suppose to have had the strongest weight with the projectors of the United Irish system, when they assembled in June 1791, to consult, "whether the Romanists were *capaces libertatis*,"—(See *Prospectus of the Society*.) But never did any men labour under a more egregious mistake! As well might it have been said, that the reformation in England was effected by Roman Catholics. The members of that religion in France opposed the progress of liberal principles with the most rancorous malignity. They assembled in the departments of La Vendee and La Loire, and under the appellation of the Royal Catholic Army and the banner of the Virgin Mary, waged incessant warfare against the government, which had presumed to burn the Pope in effigy, dissolve the monasteries, and grant toleration and equal rights to the unoffending Protestants.—"If it be objected to me (says that ardent Romanist, Francis Plowden,) that the French revolution has been produced by Roman Catholics in a Roman Catholic country, I will answer, that no man can deny, that it has been planned, carried on, and supported by the most avowed and determined Atheists and Deists of that kingdom, and has been uniformly derided and opposed by all those who were actuated by any principle of religion and morality.—*Letter to Hippisley*, 1814, p. 154. In short, so hostile is Popery to any transition from despotism to liberal principles, that it was a favourite saying of the great Mirabeau, "If you wish

When all apprehensions of danger were removed by the complete suppression of this disastrous insurrection, the question of a Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland was brought forward to the consideration of the public. On this momentous occasion the corporation in an address to the Marquis Cornwallis, Lord

for a revolution, you must commence with effecting a total extinction of *Catholicism* in France.”—(See *Fletcher on the Spirit of Religious Controversy*, Dub. 1806, p. 178.)

But it was not in France alone, that the liberal principles of the French Revolution were opposed. They were resisted by every Roman Catholic country on the continent, Italy, Spain, Austria, and “even in the Catholic democracies of Switzerland (says Belsham) the spirit of religious bigotry, diligently and continually fostered by the priests, completely predominated over that of civil liberty,” while, on the contrary, the Protestant states hastened in all quarters, unless where they were restrained by the strong hand of the civil power, to make nearer approaches to the complete enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.—That the *Irish Romanists* participated with their orthodox brethren abroad, in a detestation of French principles, it is impossible to deny. However, to the utter amazement of all, they entered warmly (in 1792) into the views of the United Irishmen, and stepped forward as ardent and disinterested champions of *civil and religious liberty*!—Such a monstrous coalition struck all reflecting men with astonishment, and the long established maxim of Popery immediately occurred to their thoughts, that “no methods, whether of deceit or violence, are to be left unattempted for the service of their church, which, in all their lowest fortunes, they never suffer to be removed out of sight—that all forms of complaisance and dissimulation, of civility and good humour, even to heretics themselves, are to be put on, to inveigle them to their own ruin,”—(*Hoadley's Sermons*, XI. p. 220.) and they must have recollected that Queen Mary, before she commenced the work of blood, “commanded all her loving subjects to *live together in quiet sort*, leaving aside those new found devilish terms of Papist and Heretic,” and that the plea of *liberty of conscience* and *universal toleration* was the ladder by which James II. endeavoured to mount to the summit of his ambition, and overthrow the constitution which he had sworn to support.

It may be inquired, what advantages did the Irish Romanists hope to acquire by this temporary abandonment of their principles—this bold assumption of the cause of civil liberty and toleration, and free inquiry?—Why, they must have plainly foreseen that if the principles of the United Irishmen became triumphant, and this island were separated from the authority of England, a *Parliament* almost exclusively *Roman Catholic* would be the inevitable consequence. And with such a glorious prospect before their eyes, could they resist the temptation of embracing the United Irish doctrines, and of declaring for liberty and equality?—This necessary consequence of the system was foreseen by Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society, and he proposed the following remedy—“If, says he, there be *serious grounds for dreading* a majority of Catholics in parliament, they may be removed by a very obvious mode; extend the elective franchise to such Catholics only as have a freehold of £10 a year. By this you will restore their natural and just weight to the sound and respectable part of the Catholic community, without throwing into their hands so much power as might enable them to *dictate the law*.”—(*Tone's Argument*, 5th edit. 1792.) Such was the cobweb partition which this man held forth for the protection of the Protestants against the insatiable, exterminating rage of those who are taught in their *authorized Bible* that their priests have authority to *PUNISH WITH DEATH* such

Lieutenant, on his arrival in this town expressed their conviction that "a legislative union with Great Britain founded on equal and liberal principles, will be productive of interior concord and tranquillity to this nation, and of general power, happiness and consequence to the empire,"—but it is not recorded that the inhabitants at large declared their sentiments on the policy of this measure.

persons as refuse to obey their decisions on the subject of religion,—(See pages 86 and 58 of these *Collections*, note.) And can it be supposed that the Romanists would have acquiesced in this feeble bulwark recommended by Tone, or that it would have been permitted to stand, even for an instant, against the fury of an overwhelming Catholic population?—Or that when they were enabled, by means of their preponderating majority to DICTATE THE LAW, they could have been restrained from yielding to the evil propensities of human nature, and the unchanged and unchangeable dictates of their church?—Fortunately their projects, when attempted to be carried into execution, were unsuccessful, and Irish Protestants only tasted a small portion of those horrors which were prepared for them—but still more fortunately, the Irish parliament was shortly after extinguished, and thus the hopes of the Romanists to DICTATE THE LAW in this island were frustrated for ever.—Whatever hopes they may entertain at present from the favourable disposition of the Imperial Legislature towards them, it appears incontrovertible that their claims were absolutely inadmissible before the Union, (See *Cooke's Argument for and against an Union*, p. 25.—*Redfoord's Union Necessary to Security*, p. 74.—*Lord Minto's Speech on Union*, p. 74.—*Considerations on the State of Public Affairs*, 1799, p. 34. &c.) and although their leaders are now struggling to effect a repeal of that measure, yet let Protestants beware of giving any countenance to a project so replete with the most ruinous consequences, and let them, as they value their lives, their liberty, and religion, be indelibly impressed with this momentous truth, that an infrangibly determined adherence to the *British connexion* (so long as Papists form the majority of the inhabitants of this island) is absolutely necessary to their existence.

Another circumstance which contributed most materially to promote the association of religious sects in the year 1791, was the visionary scheme of *unlimited religious liberty* which occurs so frequently in the declarations of the United Irishmen—"that no man should be restrained in the exercise of his religious opinions,"—"that political inequality should not result from religious opinions."—Such indefinite propositions are quite untenable, and contradicted by the most eminent writers on religious toleration. The tenth article of the celebrated Declaration of the French National Assembly, states the question with much more precision:—"No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even his religious opinions; *provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order*."—Again, "If there be religious tenets, which can influence even remotely, the public conduct of the citizen, or which can lead to the admission of opinions, by which the peace and well being of society may be affected, such tenets may become the matter of legal discussion, and be prescribed."—(*Berington's Rights of Dissenters*, Birmingham 1789, p. 20.) Now all reflecting Protestants have constantly maintained, that the tenets of Papists are dangerous to civil society, and productive of slavery and intolerance; and so impressed was the Emperor Napoleon with this truth, that he declared in 1809 to his legislative assembly,—"that the *spiritual influence* exercised in his states by a foreign sovereign (the Pope) was contrary to the *independence of France*, and to the *dignity and safety* of his throne."—I shall conclude this note with the dicta of two of the most celebrated patriots of the last century:—"The speculative errors of Papists would only deserve pity,

Whatever may have been their private opinions at that period they appear now to be fully convinced of the necessity of an incorporation of the two kingdoms, which by delivering us from a *dependant independence* has removed the danger of a fatal rupture of the political connexion of the two islands. After a lapse of 16 years, all opposition on this head except among the Roman Catholic leaders, and the selfish and monopolizing Corporation of Dublin has gradually disappeared and its most ancient and inveterate opposers are now among the foremost in declaring their assent to a measure of such infinite necessity and wisdom.*

The interval which elapsed between the year 1801 and 1817 is not marked with any occurrence of much importance in the annals of this town. Impressed with the strongest conviction of the impracticability of a successful revolt against the power of Great Britain, and of the dreadful anarchy and fanatical horrors which must have ensued, had that revolt succeeded according to their wishes, the inhabitants appear to have relinquished every idea of revolution, and to have reposed with complacency under the shelter of the existing constitution, with all its imperfections. The audacious insurrection of Emmet and Russel in 1803, afforded an ample demonstration of this alteration in their political feelings. A numerous meeting of the inhabitants unanimously expressed their "horror at this nefarious attempt to disturb the peace of Ireland,"—and two Volunteer corps were immediately raised, in whose ranks were conspicuous many of

if their *pernicious influences upon society* did not require and authorize restraint." (LORD CHESTERFIELD.)—"If the common people of England once lose the cry against Popery, it will be the easiest matter in the world to take away their Liberty."—(THE IMPORTANT LORD SOMERS.)

* In the month of January 1817 the Common Council of Dublin, published certain resolutions in favour of a repeal of the Union, founded chiefly on the injury which *their shop-keeping* had sustained by the absence of the members of parliament from the capital. On this occasion, the *Editor of the Dublin Chronicle* (a noted Roman Catholic leader) hastens to offer to that patriotic body the right hand of fellowship—"We thank the Common Council; from our hearts we thank them. *Forgotten* for ever be their intolerant attacks on the Catholics! Oh Ireland! if your sons would become united, you would be invincible—your chains would fall from your emaciated form."—The sentiments of the author of the *Letters to Mr Pitt*, and the *Protest against the Union* on this subject are highly deserving of attention—Dr Drennan "begged leave, he said, to differ from his Dublin friends, and to assert, that on the event of a full, free, and frequent representation of the people in parliament for the whole empire he would be reconciled to the Union. He would, not unwillingly, merge his country in a fair and faithful representation of these realms—for what is country justly considered, but a free constitution, and give him that well guaranteed, he should consider himself more an Irishman on the banks of the Ohio or Mississipi, than he does now on the banks of the Lagan."—(Dr Drennan's Speech at the town meeting, Belfast, Feb. 13, 1817.)

those men who had figured as active agitators in the year 1792, and who embraced the present opportunity of *renouncing* the follies of their former career.*—Since that period, the commercial interests of the town have advanced with astonishing rapidity, and the increase of population and erection of literary and charitable institutions exhibit its growing importance in the scale of the empire—but, at the same time it must be confessed, that the noble independance of spirit for which the inhabitants were once so celebrated before they were seized with the mania of revolution, has of late years considerably evaporated, and the subject of the renovation of the constitution by means of a reform of parliament, has lost its hold on their minds, and fallen into neglect.

A more exhilarating prospect, however, now begins to unfold itself to our view. A meeting of the inhabitants has lately (Feb. 13, 1817) been held, for the purpose of declaring their sentiments on the state of the nation, and the necessity of a reform in the House of Commons; and a petition in favour of this measure has been adopted and presented to parliament—marked, not with that boldness and indiscretion for which this town was formerly characterized, and which in almost in every instance defeats its object, but with the most becoming temperance and moderation, and “that respect and deference due to the government of a country even when in error.”—Such conduct must infallibly make a sensible impression in their favour, and operate in the strongest manner towards the attainment of that truly desirable object, which is of such vital importance to the tranquility, liberty, and existence of the empire. But while their endeavours are undeviatingly directed to the accomplishment of their desires, let them constantly bear in mind that it can only be attained by constitutional demands and constitutional exertions,† and

* August 1803—His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased to sign commissions for the following gentlemen to be officers in the *Belfast Volunteer Infantry*: Edward May, Esqr. to be Captain—William Sinclair, Esq. 1st Lieutenant—Robert Getty, Esq. 2d Lieutenant—Gilbert McIlveen Esq. 3rd Lieutenant—and in the *Volunteer Merchants Corps*, Thomas Thomson Esq. Captain.—Henry Joy, 1st Lieutenant—Hugh Crawford, 2d Lieutenant. Samuel Smith, 3d Lieutenant.

† The CONSTITUTION as settled at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688 and confirmed by various acts under *William III.* ought to be the first grand rallying point of Reformers. We then enjoyed *Triennial Parliaments*, and were entitled to a *fair free and frequent* election of the House of Commons. Some years ago Mr Wharton “pledged himself to *prove* in a committee of the house, that all that was *valuable* to the people of this country, all the provisions which were stipulated to secure the *peace and prosperity*, the individual liberty, and the

that the delusive lights held out by prowling incendiaries will not only retard, but oppose an insurmountable barrier to its progress. The inhabitants of this town have too long been made the dupes of designing individuals, by whose counsels they have been led into projects of the most pernicious and dangerous tendency, and perhaps men of their open and unsuspecting dispositions will never be entirely disengaged from emissaries of desperate fortune by whose insinuating tongues they may be allured to their ruin.—But let them beware of such daring impostors, and place a firm and steady reliance on the dictates of their own unbiassed and unadulterated judgments, and the awful lessons of past experience.

BELFAST, }
APRIL 1, 1817. }

general property of the people of this land, had *all been*, since the Revolution, *taken away*—He therefore moved “that a committee be appointed to enquire whether any of those provisions have been taken away—and also whether any of them may be fit to be *restored* in order that the people may recover that situation and security in which they were placed by the Glorious Revolution in 1688.”—(See *The Trial of M. Margat in 1794*, p. 136.)—With respect to the extent of *suffrage*, the remark of the author of *Peace and Reform*, appears highly judicious and important.—“The true object of a reform, is, not to give every man his natural right of a vote, but to make the House of Commons *independent* of the executive power, or of a small number of wealthy men and to make it act upon an identity of interest with the people. The manner in which this would be best accomplished, would in my opinion, be the *Rule of Reform*.”—p. 60.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TOWN OF BELFAST,
&c. &c. &c.

THE origin of the Town of BELFAST, which at present holds so high a rank in the commercial, and we may add, the literary world, is involved in the deepest obscurity. The etymology even of its name is totally unknown, and in order not to be entirely silent on this head, we are obliged to have recourse to the most vague conjectures. But these disadvantages are not peculiar to this place, since the capital cities of England and Ireland labour under similar uncertainties. Several concurring circumstances, however, combine to render it probable that it derived its appellation, Belfast, from *Bela Fearsad*, which signifies in the Irish language *the mouth of a ford*; for near the present bridge was formerly a ford at low water, and a ferry when it was high tide. Hence too may we deduce the origin of the first settlement of inhabitants here, attracted to this spot as well by the peculiar convenience of its situation, as its forming the principal, if not the only medium of connexion (by land) to the inhabitants of the northern parts of the counties of

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Down and Antrim. The origin of the name is, however, by others derived, with equal probability, from the words *Beol*, a mouth, and *Fear-said*, pools of water, or stagnant waters. The correctness of the appellation will be more obvious, when it is known, that the grounds called the **FALLS MEADOWS**, were formerly covered with water.*

We have been unable to trace any mention of this place higher than the reign of Edward II. at which period the native Irish, mortified by the oppressions of the English government, invited an invasion of the Scots, for the utter expulsion of the English colonists. On the 2d of May 1315, Edward Bruce, in obedience to this invitation, landed near Carrickfergus, with an army of 6000 men, and joined by the Irish chiefs, fell with the fury of a devouring tempest on the English settlements in that quarter. "There, says Spencer, the said *Edward le Bruce* spoiled and burnt all the old English-pale inhabitants, and sacked and razed all cities and corporate towns. For he wasted **BELFAST**, Greencastle, Kells, Belturbet, Castletown, Newton, and many other very good towns and strong holds, and rooted out the noble families of the Audlies, Talbots, Tuchets, Chamberlaines, Maundevilles, and the Savages out of the Ards, though of the Lord Savage there remaineth yet an heir, that is now a poor gentleman of very mean condition, yet dwelling in the Ards." On the return of the Scots, after their defeat at Dúnalk by Lord Birmingham, the devastation was still more frightful, "for, out of rancour and despite, they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoiled, so as of all towns, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any stick standing, nor any people remaining; for those few which yet survived, fled from their fury further into

* Northern Star, March 1796.

the English pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly country utterly wasted." * Such were the disastrous effects of this scene of slaughter and devastation, that the English colony fell into a state of decline, from which it recovered not for nearly two centuries. Encouraged by this confusion, the Irish clans rose in arms, and that of O'Neill passing the river Bann in the reign of Edward III. seized a great part of the county of Antrim, and parcelled it among themselves, under the names of the Upper and Lower Clan-Hugh-Boy, (*or the clan of yellow Hugh*) from their leader, Hugh Boy O'Neill. For a long series of years did this part of Ulster (except Carrickfergus) remain in the possession of the native Irish, and history is entirely silent with respect to the object of our inquiries, until the year 1503, when it is recorded that Gerald Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy, made an expedition into Ulster, and took and destroyed the castle of Belfast. This is the first mention of the castle, and we may reasonably conjecture that it had been originally erected by the Irish clans to defend the territories which they had seized by force from the colonists.

1512.—Kildare made a second incursion into Ulster, and a second time destroyed the castle which had been repaired since its former demolition. "It is not recorded, says Cox, that Kildare met with much opposition, so that he had little to do but to burn and waste the country, and to gather the preys together, most part whereof he divided among his soldiers."†

1552.—Sir James Crofts, Lord Deputy, marched into Ulster, and repaired and garrisoned the castle of Belfast. On his return to Dublin, his army was routed with great slaughter by

* *Spencer's View of the State of Ireland*, Lond. 1596.—Reprinted, Dub. 1809, p. 27.

† *Cox's Hist. of Ireland*, p. 202.

Shane O'Neill, son of the Earl of Tyrone. On the 28th of December following, Hugh Mac Neill Oge of Clan-Hugh-Boy, submitted to the Lords Justices, swore allegiance, and covenanted by indenture to forfeit all if he ever relapsed or apostatized again. "Whereupon, the king (Edward VI.) granted to him the Abbey of Carrickfergus, and liberty to keep three secular priests, as also the castle of BELFAST."*

1554.—A desperate conflict took place between Hugh Mac Neill of Clan-Hugh-Boy, and the Earl of Tyrone, in which the latter lost 300 men, besides prisoners. But Hugh did not long enjoy the benefit of his victory, for he was killed the succeeding year, 1555, in a skirmish by a party of Scots, who had at this period landed in Ulster and committed dreadful depredations. The territory of Clan-Hugh-Boy was, in consequence of the death of Hugh, divided by the Lord Deputy and Council between Fyleny Duff O'Neill and the son of Fyleny Baccagh. Into whose possession the castle of Belfast was now consigned, we are not informed.

1574, November 8.—Sir Brian MacPhelemy, "Chief of Clan-buy," and Rory Oge MacQuillan, "Chief of the Route," were apprehended here by General John Morris, commandant in the absence of the Earl of Essex, and brought prisoners to Carrickfergus, and there executed. The records are silent as to the charge against those persons,†

1582.—Sir John Perrot, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1584, presented this year to Queen Elizabeth, his "*Opinion for the suppressing of Rebellion and the well-governing of Ireland*," in which he strongly recommends the cutting down of the woods for the use of the navy, and the

* Cox, p. 293.

† M'Skimin's Hist. of Carrickfergus, p. 12.

settlement of shipwrights in the most convenient places. "The places for this purpose he intimates, will be Cork, Youghal, Wexford, and Belfast." Yet so little had Belfast attracted the notice of the public, that it is not mentioned in the enumeration of the chief and haven towns in the counties of Down and Antrim, in *Holinshed's Description of Ireland*, printed at London 1586.—"Carregfargus, Downe, Arglash, [Ardglass] and Newrie," being considered the "chief towns," and "the Banne, Wolderfrith, [Olderfleet or Larne] Caregfergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Loughueen [Query?] and Kilkeale, the "chief haven towns" of those counties.

1596.—The English pale which above 200 years before extended from Dunluce point to the southward of Dublin, and "had in the midst of it Knockfergus, BELFAST, Armagh, and Carlingford," was now so considerably reduced, that these towns were in this year esteemed "the most out-bounds and abandoned places in the English pale, and indeed not counted of the English pale at all; for it stretcheth now no further than Dundalk towards the North."*

1597.—In consequence of the success of the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ulster, the English government retained only Newry, Carrickfergus, Greencastle, Armagh, Dundrum, and Olderfleet in that province.†

1598.—The following curious account of the state of the country at Belfast and its vicinity, is extracted from a *Manuscript description of Ireland*, in the possession of the late Dean Dobbs, and supposed to have been written about this period.

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

North Clondeboy is for the most part a plain country, being

* *Spencer's View*, p. 27.

† *Moryson's Itinerary*, Lond. 1617, p. 20.

in length from the river of Belfast and Cragfergus to the Rout, and in the breadth from the Glynnnes to the great Lough called Eagh [Neagh], otherwise called Lough Sidney. This land was given by the Queen, by letters patent, to Sir Brien MacPhelim's sons. Notwithstanding by a division made by Sir John Perrot, the one moiety thereof was allotted to Hugh MacPhelim's sons, whereby great dissension fell out between them; and several slaughters on both parts hath been committed. The principal followers in this country are these, the MacYnes, [Magennis] MacQuillens, Ounilechabees, (Query?) Dawmans and Bertiers. The forces they are able to make are 80 horsemen and 300 footmen.

CASTLES WARDABLE AT THIS DAY.—BELFAST, 8 English miles up the river from Carrickfergus, where the passage is over the river at low water.

Edenduffee Carrick near Lough Eagh.

COUNTY OF DOWN.

SOUTH CLANDEBOY is for the most part a woodland, and reacheth from the Duffryn to the river of Knockfergus. The captain of this tract is *Neill Mac Bryan Flain*; his chief house is *Castle Reagh*. The country is able to make 40 horsemen and 80 footmen. At the breaking out of Tyrohe's insurrection in 1599, Shane Mac Bryan is stated by Moryson to have been the chief of Lower or North Clandeboys, and his forces to have amounted to 80 foot and 50 horse, and Neale Brian Fertough of Upper or South Clandeboy and his forces, 80 foot and 30 horse.

1601.—During the height of this insurrection, the only place garrisoned by the English in this neighbourhood was Carrickfergus, where 800 or 900 men were stationed under Sir Arthur Chichester. On the 30th of July, "the sole castle held

in those parts of Knockfergus by Bryan Mac Art, namely, the *Reagh*, was taken by Sir Arthur.*

1603.—A desperate affray took place in Belfast, between a party of soldiers and some servants of Con O'Neill who had been sent to bring wine from this town to "the said Con their master, and great *Teirna* (as they called him) then in a *grand debauch* at Castlereagh, with his brothers, his friends, and followers." In consequence of this affair, Con was apprehended and confined in Carrickfergus, from whence he was liberated by the Laird of Braidstane in Scotland, ancestor of the Montgomery family, and his pardon procured on condition of granting the half of his estate to the said Laird, his heirs, and assigns.† Con O'Neill appears to have been not only one of the great Irish Lords (*Teirna*) but also a petty prince, as the name of his castle implies, the word *Reagh* in Irish signifying a king. His territory was by no means contemptible, consisting of the entire parishes of Breda, Knock, Kirkdonnel, Hollywood, Bangor, Donaghadee, Gray Abbey, St Andrews, and a great part of the parish of Drum. Some remains of his castle are still to be seen at Castlereagh, standing on the summit of a hill within two miles of Belfast and commanding a very extensive prospect of the town and surrounding country. The well known rivulet *Conn's Water*, between Belfast and Dundonald, was, doubtless, so denominated from this celebrated chieftain.

1605.—Sir Hugh Montgomery and Con O'Neill went to England to procure from King James I. a confirmation of the

* *Mayson*, p. 113.—It was most probably from this chieftain, *Brian Mac Art*, that the natural fortification on the summit of the Cave Hill, *Mac Art's Fort*, received its appellation, and also the townland of *Ballymacarret*, (*Bally-mac-Art*.)

† This account is taken from a MS. published in the Belfast News-Letter, 1786.

cession of Con's estate to the former. To this the king consented on condition that Mr Hamilton and Sir Hugh should in ten year's time from November 1605, plant one third of Con's lands with British inhabitants, (English or Scotch *protestants*.)

Many laudable projects were now set on foot by James I. for the civilization and settlement of Ulster, the greater part of which had been forfeited to the crown by the rebellion of the northern clans. No one contributed more successfully to the carrying on of these measures than Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, with whose wise and prudent conduct the king was so well satisfied, that he "conferred on him very considerable grants of lands in the province, and as a lasting mark of his favour, did by letters patent, bearing date at Westminster 23d February, 1612, create him Baron Chichester of Belfast, entailing the honour on his issue male." Among his other possessions, the grant makes mention of "the castle or mansion-house, town and manor of Belfast; the territories of Tuognefall [the Falls,] Tuoghmoylone, [Malone,] Tuoghcinament, Carnemoney, Carntall, and Monks-land; the rectory of Sankill, [Shankil,] and all other rectories, &c. within the said territories; the entire fishing of the river Lagan, &c." By Queen Elizabeth indeed, Belfast had been granted to Sir Thomas Smith, and Thomas Smith the younger, with a vast tract of land, on condition that they should keep a certain number of horse and foot harnessed and accoutred, to be ready in a certain number of days, after being required, to meet at Antrim, but in the reign of James I. such a summons was issued, and neither appearing, the castle and cinament (demesne,) were forfeited, and granted to Sir Arthur. The charter, constituting Belfast a corporation, of a sovereign, 12 burgesses and commonalty, with the privilege of sending two members to parlia-

ment, was also granted by James I. in the 10th year of his reign; and constituting Arthur Lord Chichester, his heirs, &c. lords of the castle. Thomas Vesey, the first sovereign, was chosen in 1613; and in the same year, Sir John Blennerhasset, baron of the exchequer, and George Treyillian Esq. were the first members sent by this town to parliament. At that time Belfast could not have been considerable, for in the patent it is styled *town or village*.

1613.—In the convening of the new parliament, the Roman Catholics, apprehensive of unfavourable designs against them from the great number of boroughs which had been lately formed by the king's authority, presented a petition to his Majesty, praying that the creation of boroughs might be suspended; in consequence of which, the members returned from those boroughs [of which Belfast was one,] which were created *after* the writs had been issued, were judged for the present incapable of sitting.

The introduction of an industrious Protestant population into the province of Ulster, appears, and most deservedly too, to have been a favourite object of James and his ministers. Early in his reign a considerable colony had been brought from Devonshire by Sir Arthur Chichester, of which one part settled about Carrickfergus, and another in the district of Malone, adjoining to Belfast, where their descendants are still to be distinguished by their looks and manners, but particularly by the air of comfort about their dwellings, and a fondness for gardens and orchards. Near Belfast was likewise a colony from Lancashire and Cheshire, settled there, as it is said, by Sir Moyses Hill; but from Malone to Lisburn, and thence over the greater part of the barony of Massareene, and the southern part of the barony of Antrim, but especially towards the West,

the country is mostly occupied by the descendants of English settlers, and some Welch, who came over in the reign of Elizabeth in great numbers, and also in the beginning of James I. with the different great families, that at various times obtained grants of lands here.*

In the 34th of Philip and Mary, a law was passed "against bringing in of Scots, retaining or intermarrying with them." But such was the wretched state of this country at the present period, that it was found necessary to repeal that law. In consequence of this act, "there came over many thousands of them in a few years, and settled in Ulster. They brought with them their Presbyterian principles, and encouraged ministers of their own persuasion."† Their first minister, Edward Brice, settled at Broadisland, near Carrickfergus, in 1611, and the Rev. Robert Cunningham at Hollywood; at the same time the lowland Scots were brought into the county of Down under the Hamiltons and Montgomeries. This division extended from Donaghadee to Portaferry, "penetrating into the country within half-a-mile of Belfast, and stretching to the very centre of it."‡ From this era, we may date the first dawning of that pre-eminence which Belfast and her inhabitants have since so amply enjoyed among the other towns and cities of Ireland.

1635.—Extract from the *Manuscript Journal of an English gentleman*, who travelled through part of Ireland, in June 1635. "From Carrickfergus to Belfast you ride all upon the Lough side, it is a most bare way, and deep in winter and wet weather, though it is hard and dry. At Belfast my Lord Chichester

* Dubourdieu's *Stat. Survey, of the County of Antrim*, Dub. 1812. p. 443.

† Kirkpatrick's *Historical Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians*, 1712. p. 161.

‡ Dubourdieu, p. 425.

hath another dainty stately palace, which is indeed the glory and beauty of that town also, where he is mostly resident, and is now building another brick wall beside his gates. This is not so vast and large as the other, but more convenient and commodious; the very end of the lough toucheth upon his garden and *backside*; there are also dainty orchards, gardens, and walks planted.

“Near hereunto Mr Arthur Hill (son and heir of Sir Moyzes Hill, hath a brave plantation,) which he holds by lease, and which has still 40 years to come; the land is my Lord Chichester's, and the lease was made for 60 years to Sir Moyzes Hill, by the old Lord Chichester. This plantation, it is said, doth yield him £1000 per annum. Many Lancashire and Cheshire men are here planted, they sit upon a rack rent, and pay five or six shillings an acre for good plough land, which is now clothed with excellent good corn.”

From Belfast to Linsley Garvin [Lisburn] is almost seven miles, and is a paradise in comparison with every part of Scotland.*

1636.—In August this year, an Episcopal visitation was held at Belfast, by Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, assisted by John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh. Thither were summoned five *dissenting* ministers, Ed. Brice, J. Ridge, Hen. Colvert, Rob. Cunningham, and Ja. Hamilton, and *required* to subscribe the *Church Canons*! This they peremptorily refused, and offered to state their reasons at a public conference. Accordingly a conference commenced on the 10th of August, in presence of a vast assemblage of nobility, gentry, clergy, &c. and continued for the space of two days, at the end of which

* Dubouardieu's *Stat. Survey of the County of Down*, p. 307.

period, still persisting in their opposition, they were each of them formally deposed from their ministry. "Seeing their was no rest for the sole of their foot in Ireland," many pastors with their flocks now resolved to transport themselves into New England. A ship of 150 tons was accordingly built at Belfast by the dissenters, and having provided stores and instruments for plantation, three deposed ministers, R. B. J. L. and J. M'C. embarked with about 140 persons in the Lough of Carrickfergus, Sept. 1636, in order to make preparations for those that intended to follow. However, after suffering many hardships off the coast of Newfoundland, they were obliged to return, which they effected in safety on the 3d of November following. But the demon of persecution was not yet laid to rest. The ministers that were driven back by the severity of the weather, with four of those who were deposed at Belfast in the August preceding, found it necessary to make their escape into Scotland.*

1638.—About this period, a spirit of opposition to the violent and illegal proceedings of Charles I. and his ministers, had blazed forth in Scotland, and after advancing into England, was making considerable progress in the North of Ireland.

* See *A Sample of Jet Black Prelate Calumny*, Glasgow, 1713. p. 154.

Up to the period of the revolution, the history of religion was, in the British Empire, a history of intolerance and persecution. Whatever party was uppermost, whether Romanist, Protestant, or Presbyterian, the same want of toleration for diversity of opinion was displayed, and it was not until the revolution in 1688, that the æra of religious liberty arrived, and William III. of glorious memory, accomplished that which will ever remain a monument of his wisdom—the Toleration Act. It is now the universal opinion of PROTESTANTS, that liberty of religious worship and instruction is the inalienable right of all, and that in the peaceable exercise of this right they are not justly controulable by the civil magistrate.

Religious innovations, tending to the *forcible* overthrow of Presbyterianism in Scotland, were attempted to be introduced by the king's directions. The Scots flew to arms and signed a covenant by which they bound themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against any opposition whatever. On the first alarm of this insurrection, a new oath of loyalty, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenor of the oath, was prescribed by Lord Deputy Strafford to the Scots in Ulster, and those who refused it were fined and imprisoned, in some cases with circumstances of barbarity. Notwithstanding these precautions, the ferment spread, and "as in Scotland they are entered into a bond to defend one another by arms, so it seems that in my diocese [Down and Connet] they have joined in a bond to defend one another by their oaths;" thus Bishop Leslie writes to the Lord Deputy, and gives information that "Robert Barr of Malon, [Malone] Robert Niven of Belfast, George Martin of the same, and David Kennedy, and Robert Rosse, have fled this kingdom for fear of the High Commission, but have left their land behind them."

1640.—To such a height of indignation were the feelings of the nonconformists in Ulster at this time raised by the intolerant proceedings of the bishops of the established church, (or rather the king's bishops,) that they found it necessary to send a representation of their sufferings to the English House of Commons. It is entitled, *The humble petition of the Protestant inhabitants of the Counties of ANTRIM, DOWNE, TYRONE, &c.* and contains 31 distinct heads of grievances. The preamble states that, "The prelates have by their canons of late, their fines, fees, and imprisonments at their pleasure, their silencing, suspending, banishing, and excommunicating

of our learned and conscionable ministers, their obtruding upon us ignorant, erroneous, and prophane persons to be our teachers, their censuring of many hundreds even to excommunication, for matters acknowledged by all to be indifferent and not necessary, their favouring popery (in this kingdom a double fault,) their persecuting purity, and endeavouring to bring all to a lifeless formality, divers of them being notorious incendiaries of the unquietness and unsettled estate between these kingdoms, with the many like, too tedious to relate. These our cruel task-masters have made of us, who were once a people, to become, as it were, no people, an astonishment to ourselves, the object of pity and amazement to others, and hopeless of remedy, unless he with whom are bowels of compassion, work in you a heart to interpose for your petitioners relief."

Such were the exploits of the Irish protestant bishops of those days,—men who covered with the foulest disgrace the glorious denomination *Protestant*,—a term characteristic of charity, forbearance, and a strict adherence to the divine maxim, "*Do unto others as you would they should do unto you*,"—and subjected to the vilest contempt their own sacred order. So intimately blended were the vices of these men with their offices, that the distinction was unperceived by the common observer; hence the petitioners pray that "this unlawful hierarchial government with all their appendices may be *utterly extirpated*." But ambition and crimes are not essential to the order of bishops. Let the incentives to crimes and ambition, such as excessive *wealth, civil establishments, &c.* be abolished, and the order will then be exhibited in its apostolic and primitive purity, such as it appeared in the first 300 years of the primitive church, and is at present displayed in the protestant Episcopal churches of America and Scotland.

Lord Strafford purchased from the corporation of Carrickfergus, on the part of the crown, their privilege of importing foreign goods at one-third of the duties payable in other places; being deprived of this advantage, Belfast rose at the expence of the former, from whence the custom-house was removed to it at the same time.

1641.—The dreadful insurrection of the Irish Roman Catholics this year, and their sanguinary attempts to extirpate the Scottish and English settlers from the province of Ulster, must have caused a great interruption to the rising prosperity of Belfast and the adjacent counties. It appears that Belfast served as a place of refuge to those protestants who had the good fortune to escape from the merciless grasp of their ensanguined persecutors. The wretched condition to which the county of Antrim was then reduced, is thus briefly depicted in the following statement, taken from an *Original Manuscript*, formerly in the possession of the *Moira* family.

Besides the dread of massacre, the horrors of famine and pestilence were now poured out on the unfortunate protestants —“ The Lord sent a pestilent fever, that swept away innumerable people; inasmuch that in Colerain their died in four months by computation 6000, in Carrickfergus 2500, in Belfast and Melone [Malone] above 2000, in Lisnygarvi [Lisburn] 800, and in Antrim and other places a proportionable number.”

It is remarkable that “not any that escaped this fever but lost all their hair.”—The author adds, that on the [protestant] clergy fell the brunt of this martyrdom: they were those appointed to slaughter at the birth of this design; they could expect no quarter; others might ransom their lives with their hidden goods; but this profession was sure to cope with death in the horrid shape! Of these, twenty-seven are recorded

by our author to have been massacred in Ulster alone, and a vast number to have been maltreated or to have died of the pestilence; among the latter we find the name of Mr *Simon Chichester*, minister of *Belfast*.*

The following curious particulars respecting Belfast and its vicinity during the rebellion, are extracted from an extremely rare tract, entitled *A true Relation of several Acts, Passages, done, undertaken, &c. by Captain Robert Lawson, now one of the Sheriffs of the City and County of Londonderry, upon and since the first beginning of the great and general Rebellion in Ireland, &c. Printed at London, 1643*. This author informs us, that "About the 16th of October 1641, before any notice of an insurrection, having occasion to take a journey from Londonderry to Dublin, and to travel by way of Belfast, to the iron-works, within two miles thereof, wherein he had some stock and interest, he took his journey from thence to go to Dublin, upon the 21st of October following;" but on arriving at Newry, and receiving information that the rebellion had broken out, he returned to "Killeleagh, to the Lord Hamilton's, and came in the night by Comber, through the Lord of Ardes's country about by little Belfast, and came to great Belfast, and up to the iron-works near thereunto about three of the clock in the morning, where his wife was then resident; and having sent several messengers before to inquire after him, they were taken and robbed. But Captain Lawson not having rested there above two hours, arose, calling two horsemen with him; and in the morning, being Monday, went down back again to great Belfast, where they found most part of the

* See *The Clergie's Lamentation*, by Daniel Harcourt, one of the Commissioners for the Examination of the Protestant grievances in Ulster, Lond. 1644. p. 9.

inhabitants fled and flying, and carrying away their goods to Carrickfergus, and the old Lord Chichester shipped aboard in a ship. So Captain Lawson went throughout the town, and blamed them for offering to leave the town, and intreated for some arms, either by buying or lending, but could not prevail. At last he found in Master *Lesquire's* house seven muskets, and eight halberts ready in the street to be shipped to Carrickfergus; which arms he took, and bought a drum, and beating the same through the town, raised about twenty men, who came with him again up to the iron-works, having Mr *Forbus*, and some number with him joined with Captain Lawson, where also he gathered in all about 160 horse and foot, who about two of the clock upon the same Monday in the afternoon, being the 25th of October, the second day after the rebellion, marched unto *Lisnegarvy*, and there entered the town about four of the clock the same day, all the people with the troop there engarrisoned, having before left the town to the enemy's mercy the Sunday before, and they quartered all that night in the house the bishop of Down lived in, and put many candles in the market-house, and sentries out in every quarter of the town, making show of six or seven lighted matches for every piece to astonish the enemy, who came to the sentries that night, intending to have burned the town, but our show and cartiage was more than our force, the enemy being strong and many in number, by which means they were affrighted and beat off that night; and the next morning, being Tuesday, the enemy appeared above the town's end, and drove before them about 400 cows; whereupon, Captain Lawson, with 45 horse, issued forth, leaving the rest to guard the town, and it pleased God by their good labour and industry they took the prey of cows

and some prisoners, and killing others of the enemy ; and got seventeen of their mantles. After sending the prey into the town, they adventured three miles farther, and brought in before night as many more cows, and kept them within the bawn wall of the bishop's house, and all the next night secured the town also, Sir *Conn Mackgennis* threatening and sending word he would burn the town that night. But it pleased God they were prevented and beaten off, and the town kept in safety ; and often issued forth amongst the enemy to prevent their gathering to a great head, until at length upon the next day, being Wednesday, the troop and townsmen came in again to the town, hearing and understanding what service Captain Lawson and his small company of men had done there in securing the same, the preservation whereof under God was a means of the safety not only of Lisnegarvy and Belfast, but of most of those parts thereabout, being the first that opposed the enemy in those parts.

“ At night came the Lord of Ards forces, and the Lord Hamilton, Sir Arthur Tiringham, Captain Chichester, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Sir James Montgomery, and Mr Arthur Hill with their forces, who gave Captain Lawson and his men great thanks for their good care and service in the town, and offered him a commission, which he was very unwilling to accept of, in regard of his calling, being a merchant, but which he at length accepted.

“ So there being come up to Lisnegarvy about 1500 horse and foot, himself, his men, and company, had their order by their commission, and quarters about the iron-works, in the barony of Belfast, and then left with the army about 400 cows, and only brought with him from thence about 60 cows for his own company.”

Being under the necessity of going to Derry, Captain Lawson entrusted the care of his troops to his lieutenants *Cleigstone* and *Hannay*, and quarter-master *Stewart*, "who still kept on his company at the iron-works for four months together, doing good service all that time, they being at all battles and skirmishes there with the enemy, and about ten of his company lost therein, whereof one was Captain *Beyd*, his soldier at first, and after made a captain, whose wife and poor children wholly depend upon Captain Lawson's relief; so as he cannot have expended less than 1200*l.* for the raising, keeping, and maintaining his several companies there with victuals, ammunition, and arms, besides all his stock at the iron-works, with the works themselves wholly lost and brought to decay; the sow-iron unwrought to the quantity of 2000*l.* value, beside much iron ore, and 1000 tons of square timber, most burned by the soldiers, 1000 loads of charcoals burned by the enemy at forge, furnace, and in the woods, with three corn-mills, and many houses burned, and land laid waste, and all the moveables taken away by the enemy and others, the land and mills being worth 150*l.* per annum. The mills, lands, and woods, wholly belonging to *Robert Barre*, Esq. his father-in-law, only 2000*l.* sterl. which Captain *Henry Osburne* his brother-in-law and he had as a stock on foot therein, which, upon the matter, is the loss of the greatest part of their three estates, the whole loss is above 12,000*l.*"

The above curious narrative of the preservation of Belfast in that troublesome period, is confirmed by the following extract of *A true Copy of a Letter sent from Doe Castle in Ireland, from an Irish Rebel* [Donell O'Cane,] to [Donotho O'Cane in] *Dunkirk* [bearing date 1st August, 1642] *prints for W. Hope, Lond. 1643.*—"I wrote to you before that we might have

stopped Captain Lawson his journey when he came first from Lisnegarvy, about the last of November, through our country, and spoke then with our cousin Colonel Shane O'Cane, and was but three horse and himself at Muffe upon the way, and now since, we hear he left behind him a foot company, and a troop of horse, and was the first in these parts that opposed our cousin Sir *Con MacGinis* of entering Lisnegarvy, when the Lord *Conoway*, his troop of horse, and all the town's people left it, and the country about, and but for him we had had *Belfast*, and most of those parts in possession: we did little dream any such action had been in him, if we had, we would have cut him short of his journey, but now no remedy. We have burned most of the country about, only Tirconnell doth us much mischief; our cousin *Owen MacCart*, [*Owen MacArt O'Neill*,] is landed here at Doe, and hath taken a Puritan bark with arms; we are glad of his arrival."

Nov. 28.—A furious assault was made on Lishurn by the great body of the Northern Irish, commanded by Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Con Magennis, and Major-general Plunkett, who succeeded in setting fire to the town, but were at length repulsed by the intrepidity of the Protestants, under the command of Sir George Rawdon, (ancestor of the present earl of Moira,) and Sir Arthur Tyringham. A reinforcement which arrived "at night from Belfast, of the earl of Donegall's troop, and a company of foot commanded by Captain Boyde," served materially to strike terror into the assailants. Captain Boyde is recorded to have been "unhappily slain after his first entrance into the town."*

1642.—A treaty having been at length concluded by the English House of Commons with the Scottish parliament, for

* *Archæologia*, vol. p. 96, Lond. 1779.

the sending of 10,000 men for the reduction of the Irish rebels, about the middle of April the first division under general Robert Munro took possession of Carrickfergus, and on the 27th "a party of them drew out to *Malone*, and the next day being joined by 1000 foot, 3 troops of horse, and 2 of dragoons, under Lord Conway and colonel Chichester," they marched to Lisburn, where they were joined by 800 foot, and two troops of horse under the Lords Claneboys and Ards; and after making incursions into the country as far as Armagh, they returned on the 12th of May.*

Aug.—The English parliament, being resolved to reduce within reasonable bounds the extravagant power claimed and exercised by the kings of England, had now come to an open rupture with Charles, and the hostile standards were erected on both sides on the 22d of this month. The inhabitants of Belfast and its vicinity, especially those who were connected with the Scots, favoured the popular party, and the cause of liberty.

1643.—"His Majesty, Charles I. being fully satisfied of the *loyalty* and affection, &c. of Colonel Arthur Chichester, constituted him by commission, governor of Belfast, and the territory of Ennishowen, forbidding all persons to billet or garrison any soldiers in those places, or make any assessments upon the inhabitants, without his license and approbation; and for the better fortifying of the town of Belfast, his Majesty directed the Lord Lieutenant to advance 1000l. to him forthwith." In 1647 Colonel Chichester was created (the first,) earl of Donegall.†

"About the 1st of June, 350 men from every English regiment about Belfast, viz. my Lord Connorways, 350; my Lord

* Cox, p. 114.

† *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, by Archdall, vol. I. p. 333.*

Viscount *Ardes*, 350 ; my Lord Viscount *Clonebages*, (Clandboys) 350 ; Colonel *Chichester*, 350 ; Sir *James Montornerge*, (Montgomery) 350 ; Sir John Clotworthies, 350. To this 2100 foot, 200 horse, most of Colonel *Hyll's* regiment were joined: marched to Mountnorris, near Newry, where, forming a junction with Lord Moore, they ravaged the county of Monaghan and Cavan, and returned with a considerable quantity of booty, viz. 3500 lean cows and oxen ; 2000 sheep, and near 1000 baggage horses, and killed hundreds of straggling rogues."*

The English parliament had now in order to ingratiate themselves with the Scottish nation, from whom they expected considerable reinforcements,) received the covenant without opposition. Their next step was to order it to be received by all who lived under their authority, but here they met with much opposition, especially in Ireland ; and the colonels of all the regiments under the command of the marquis of Ormond, met at Belfast on the 2d of January, to deliberate whether obedience should be rendered to this command. Those who assembled on this occasion were the Lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir James Montgomery, Sir William Cole, Colonels Chichester and Mervyn, and Robert Thornton, mayor of Derry ; all of whom agreed privately among themselves to preserve their allegiance to Charles, to obey the orders of the marquis of Ormond, and not to accept the Covenant, nor any commander over them. April 4.—The ministers passed through the several parishes of the counties of Down and Antrim, recommending the Covenant, " the country people, as well as soldiers, taking it with as much zeal as if it was the only means of preserving their souls and bodies."†

* See *A Short Extract of Several Letters*, p. 4. Lond. 1643.

† *Carte's Life of James Butler, Duke of Ormond*, vol. I. p. 490.

April 15.—A proclamation was published by the Lord Lieutenant and Council against the Covenant, but it produced little effect; so that before the end of May it was universally received, except by Sir J. Montgomery, Sir R. Stewart, and his Major, James Galbraith, of the old Scots, and three English regiments. "These last were in a very distressed condition, and Colonel Chichester having represented it to the Lord Lieutenant, desired his assistance. The marquis of Ormond raised 300*l.* upon his private credit, and sent it to him for a present relief to his garrison of *Belfast*, to be employed for the security of that important place against the Covenanters, assuring him further, that he had written to England to procure him supplies, and would engage himself to the utmost of his ability and credit for his relief."*

April 27.—In order to bring the remains of the royal party under their influence and authority, the English Parliament had now invested Monroe by a commission under the new broad seal of England, with the office of commander in chief as well of the English, as of the Scottish forces in Ulster. "Sir James Montgomery having notice thereof, sent to desire the rest of the British colonels in those parts to meet him at *Belfast*, to consider of an unanimous answer to be returned to him when he should propose to them to submit to his command."

"Monday, May 13," was fixed for the day, and there met Sir James himself, the Lords Montgomery and Blaney, Sir Robert Stewart, Colonel Hill, Major Rawdon, Sir Joseph Jones, and Major Gore, besides Colonel Chichester, who commanded in the place. They met in the evening, and adjourning their consultation to the next morning, had retired to their lodgings,

* Carte, vol 1. p. 493.

when a soldier of Colonel Chichester's coming from Carrickfergus, brought advice, that Monroe had given orders for the garrison of that place, Colonel Hume's and other Scotch regiments, to be ready to march at two of the clock the next morning to Belfast. The guards hereupon were strengthened, and every officer, as well those of the field as others, ordered upon duty. This being done, some horse were sent as scouts to make discoveries, who returning about six in the morning, positively affirmed, that they had been within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was clear, without a man to be seen. Upon this advice the guards were all discharged except the ordinary watch; and the officers who had been all night upon duty, retired to their rest. About an hour after, Monroe was descried within half-a-mile of the town, advancing with great speed towards one of the gates, which (before the drums could beat and the garrison be drawn together to make opposition) was opened to him by a sergeant of Captain Mac Adam's and the soldiers of the guard; so that he marched orderly through the place till he came to the opposite or south gate, leading to Lisnegarvy; and then directed his men in several parties to possess themselves of the bulwarks, cannon, and guards. Colonel Chichester prevailed with the other colonels to repair to Monroe, and ask what he meant by surprising the town. He replied, that as Colonel Chichester had published a proclamation against the covenant by which such as had taken it conceived themselves to be declared traitors, discountenanced his officers and the townsmen who offered to take it, and had formerly refused to suffer some of the Scots to garrison there, he did not think himself safe without having a garrison of his own in the place; and so ordered Colonel Chichester's men to depart, except such as he

would leave for a guard to his house. Thus was Belfast lost by the treachery of the scouts, who, meeting Monroe, had been ordered by him to return and carry that false intelligence of their being no forces to be seen in the country."

As soon as Monroe had secured Belfast, and brought it under the authority of the English parliament, he marched with a detachment to Lisnegarvy, but being disappointed in seizing the town by force, and finding the army stationed there resolved to obey the Marquis of Ormond, he marched back to Belfast. On his return he permitted Colonel Chichester's own company to remain in the castle, while the colonel himself went to England to complain of the injury done him. In his absence, his regiment was expelled the town, and assigned quarters at Malone and in the neighbouring villages; but under colour of leading them thither, Lieutenant Colonel Matthews and Major Chichester accompanied them, and the former conducting a party to Newry, determined to defend that place to the utmost.

Dreading, however, lest the English and Scots forces should come to an open rupture, a situation that could not but be very prejudicial to the general cause in which they were both engaged against the Irish rebels, the commanding officers of Hill's, Conway's, and Chichester's regiments drew up a formal stipulation with Monroe, in which, with a proviso that the English should not be forced to take an oath contrary to the fundamental laws of Ireland, till they had first made their representations to parliament, they engaged, in conjunction with the Scots, to prosecute the war with vigour against the Irish rebels; in the justice of which they declared themselves to be fully satisfied in their consciences.*

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 490,—Vol. III. p. 286. 297. 301.

On the 17th of May, the Marquis of Ormond received information of the surprise of Belfast, by means of letters from Lieutenant Colonel Edward Matthews; this intelligence was soon after confirmed on the arrival of "Colonel Chichester, his wife, and some of his troops." The privy council was in consequence, immediately assembled, and letters were dispatched to Monroe, "requiring the rendering up of that town, and of his majesty's arms, ammunition, and ordnance therein, and his removal with his forces from thence."—Monroe, however, did not think proper to comply.*

June 27.—The English and Scots forces in the vicinity of Belfast, having assembled at Lisburn under the command of General Monroe, made an incursion as far as the county of Longford, and after ravaging the country returned "two miles further than Lisnegarvy" on the 14th of July; and on the 15th "every regiment retired towards their several quarters, in the counties of Down and Antrim.†

1645, October.—Sir R. King and Mr Annesley the parliamentary commissioners, and Colonel Beale from the committee of adventurers, arrived in Ulster about the latter end of this month. Their intention was, if possible, to bring as well the Scots as the royal party under the controul of the English parliament. With this view they demanded of Monroe to deliver up Belfast, (where they ordinarily resided); but with this order he refused to comply until he had received directions from the state of Scotland.‡

1646.—In November a considerable force arrived from

* Carte, Vol. III. 312. 314.

† See *A full Relation of the late Expedition of the Right Hon. the Lord Monroe, Major-General of all the Protestant forces in Ulster, with their several Marches and Skirmishes with the bloody Irish Rebels*, Lond, 1644.

‡ Carte, Vol. I. 538.

England under the direction of the parliamentary commissioners. Being refused admission into Dublin by the Marquis of Ormond, "they carried all their supplies into Ulster, where they met with a very cold reception from the Scots. The commissioners themselves were with difficulty admitted into Belfast, but their forces were absolutely refused entrance either into that place or Carrickfergus; and the ships were forced to hover a week about the coast before the men could be landed."* This request for the delivery of the town, so pertinaciously repeated, excited such disgust in the minds of the Scots, that it furnished them with a strong motive (which they appear to have entertained) for deserting the parliamentary interest, and embracing the cause of the king, after they had sold him into the hands of the parliament in 1647.—Belfast they always considered as "necessary for the security of their troops as long as they continued in Ulster."†

1649.—The commencement of this year is distinguished in the annals of the world, for the performance of a deed on which tyrants ought frequently to reflect—and tremble. Charles Stuart, (commonly called Charles I.) was summoned before the tribunal of England, and underwent the disgrace and ignominy of a public execution for betraying the trust reposed in him as king of Great Britain and Ireland. A remarkable alteration had about the same period also taken place in the minds of the people of England, and was every day becoming more apparent. Stupid and persecuting covenants for the exclusive establishment and pensioning of fanatical systems of religion had begun to be openly disclaimed by thousands, and the universal *toleration* of all peaceable Sects was publicly recommended and put in practice. Alarmed at this important

* Carte, Vol. I. p. 80.

† Carte, Vol. II. p. 13.

change in the minds of the people, and apprehending the overthrow of the solemn league and covenant, and the downfall of the Kirk, the rigid Presbyterians (whose system *at that period* savoured strongly of intolerance and persecution,) took the opportunity of the king's violent and untimely end, and under pretence of declaring their abhorrence of the deed, exclaimed loudly against the practices of the *Sectarian* party, as they denominated the *Independents*, their public toleration of all religions, and their opposition to the covenant. Foremost amongst these intolerants was the Presbytery of Belfast, but their complaints served no other good purpose than to draw down upon them the vengeance of the immortal JOHN MILTON, one of those illustrious men who first had the honour of openly declaring for the toleration of *all Sects*, whose principles did not *interfere* with the power of the *civil* magistrate. As the declaration of the Presbytery of Belfast, and the Answer of Milton are difficult to be met with, they shall both be inserted from the original, printed in London by M. Simmons, 1649, and it must be consolatory to reflect, that the inhabitants of Belfast of the present day have made an ample atonement for the errors and failings of their ancestors, by their uniform and rigid attachment, for the last hundred years, to the great principles of *toleration*, and a *free constitution*.

“ *A Necessary Representation of the present evils and imminent dangers to Religion, Laws, and Liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the Sectarian party in England: together with an exhortation to duties relating to the Covenant, unto all within our charge; and to all the well affected within this Kingdom, by the Presbytery at Belfast, February 15, 1649.*”

“ When we do seriously consider the great and many duties

which we owe unto God, and his people, over whom he hath made us overseers, and for whom we must give an account; and when we behold the laudable examples of the worthy ministers of the province of London, and of the commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in their free and faithful testimonies against the insolencies of the Sectarian party in England. Considering also the dependency of this kingdom upon the kingdom of England, and remembering how against strong oppositions we were assisted by the Lord the last year in discharge of the like duty, and how he punished the contempt of our warning upon the despisers thereof. We find ourselves as necessitated, so the more encouraged to cast in our mite in the treasury, lest our silence should involve us in the guilt of unfaithfulness, and our people in security and neglect of duty.

“ In this discharge of the trust put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or broachers of national and divisive motions; our record is in heaven, that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor less intended by us, and therefore we shall not fear the malicious and wicked aspersions which we know Satan by his instruments is ready to cast, not only upon us, but on all who sincerely endeavour the advancement of reformation.

“ What of late have been, and now are the insolent and presumptuous practices of the Sectaries in England, is not unknown to the world: for, first, notwithstanding their specious pretences for religion and liberty, yet their late and present actings, being therewith compared, do clearly evidence that they love a rough garment to deceive; since they have with a high hand despised the oath in breaking the covenant, which is so strong a foundation to both, whilst they loaden it with

slighting reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary interests, and a snare to the people; and likewise labour to establish by laws an *universal toleration of all religions*, which is an innovation overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, *the two first articles of our solemn covenant*, which is *the greatest wickedness* in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves, have with their hands testified to the most high God, sworn, and sealed it.

“Moreover, their great disaffection to the settlement of religion, and so their future breach of covenant doth more fully appear by their strong opposition to presbyterian government (the hedge and bulwark of religion,) whilst they express their hatred to it, more than to the worst of errors, by excluding it under the name of compulsion, when they embrace even Paganism and Judaism in the arms of toleration. Not to speak of their aspersions upon it, and the assertors thereof, as anti-christian and popish, though they have deeply sworn to maintain the same government in the first article of the covenant, as it is established in the Church of Scotland, which they now so despise, and fully blaspheme.

“Again, it is more than manifest that they seek not the vindication, but the extirpation of laws and liberties, as appears by their seizing on the person of the king, and at their pleasure removing him from place to place, not only without the consent, but (if we mistake not) against a direct ordinance of parliament; their violent surprising, imprisoning, and secluding many of the most worthy members of the honourable house of commons, directly against a declared privilege of parliament (an action certainly without parallel in any age,) and their purposes of abolishing parliamentary power for the

future, and establishing of a representative (as they call it) instead thereof. Neither hath their fury staid here, but without all rule or example, being but private men, they have proceeded to the trial of the king, against both the interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland, and the former public declarations of both kingdoms (besides the violent haste, rejecting the hearing of any defences) with cruel hands have put him to death; an act so horrible, as no history, divine or human, hath laid a precedent of the like.

“ These, and many other their detestable insolencies, may abundantly convince every unbiassed judgment, that the present practice of the Sectaries, and their abettors, do directly overturn the laws and liberties of the kingdoms, root out lawful and supreme magistracy (the just privileges whereof we have sworn to maintain) and introduce a fearful confusion, and lawless anarchy.

“ The spirit of God by Solomon tells us, (Pro. xxx. 21.) “ That a servant to reign is one of the four things for which the earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear.” We wonder nothing that the earth is disquieted for these things; but we wonder greatly, if the earth can bear them, and albeit if the Lord so permit, that folly be set in great dignity, and they which sit in low place; “ That servants ride upon horses, and princes walk as servants upon the earth,” (Eccl. x. 6, 7.) Yet the same wise man saith, (Pro. xix. 10.) “ Delight is not seemly for a fool, much less for a servant to have rule over princes.”

“ When we consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our utter dislike and detestation of such unwarrantable practices, directly subverting our covenant, religion, laws, and liberties. And as watchmen in Sion warn all the lovers of truth and well-affected to the covenant, carefully to avoid compliance

with, or not bearing witness against *horrid insolencies*, least partaking with them in their sins, they also be partakers of their plagues. Therefore, in the spirit of meekness, we earnestly intreat, and in the authority of Jesus Christ, (whose servants we are) charge and obtest all who resolve to adhere unto truth and the covenant, diligently to observe, and conscientiously to perform these following duties.

1. "That according to our solemn covenant, every one study more to the power of godliness, and personal reformation of themselves and families, *because* for the great breach of this part of the covenant, *God is highly offended* with these lands, and justly provoked to permit men to be the instruments of our misery and afflictions.

2. "That every one in their station and calling earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints, (Jude 3.) And seek to have their hearts established with grace, that they be not unstable and wavering, carried about with every wind of doctrine; but that they receive the truth in love, avoiding the company of such as withdraw from and vilify the public ordinances; speak evil of church government; invent damnable errors under the specious pretence of a gospel way, and *new light*; and highly extol the persons and courses of notorious sectaries, lest God give them over to strong delusions (the plague of these times) that they may believe lies, and *be damned*.

3. "That they would not be drawn by council, command, or example, to shake off the ancient and fundamental government of these kingdoms by king and parliament, which we are so deeply engaged to preserve by our solemn covenant, as they would not be found guilty of the great evil of these times (condemned by the Holy Ghost) the despising of dominion, and speaking evil of dignities.

4. "That they do cordially endeavour the preservation of the union among the well affected in the kingdoms, not being swayed by any national respect; remembering that part of the covenant, "that we shall not suffer ourselves directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union, and conjunction.

"And finally, albeit there be more present hazard from the power of sectaries (as were from malignants the last year) yet we are not ignorant of the evil purposes of malignants, even at this time in all the kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this cause we exhort every one with equal watchfulness to keep themselves free from associating with such, or from swerving in their judgments to malignant principles; and to avoid all such persons as have been from the beginning known opposers of reformation, refusers of the covenant, combining themselves with Papists, and other notorious malignants, especially such as have been chief promoters of the late engagement against England, calumniators of the work of reformation, in reputing the miseries of the present times unto the advancers thereof and that their just hatred to sectaries incline not their minds to favour malignants, or to think that because of the power of sectaries, the cause of God needs the more to fear the enmity, or to stand in need of the help of malignants."

Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the Letter of Ormond to Colonel Jones, and the Representation of the Presbytery at Belfast, by JOHN MILTON.

"Although it be a maxim much agreeable to wisdom, that just deeds are the best answer to injurious words, and actions of whatever sort their own plainest interpreters, yet since our

enemies can find the leisure both ways to offend us, it will be requisite we should be found in neither of those ways neglectful of our just defence. To let them know, that sincere and upright intentions can certainly with as much ease deliver themselves into words as into deeds.

"Having therefore seen of late those Articles of Peace granted to the papist rebels of Ireland, as special graces and favours from the late king, in reward, most likely, of their work done, and in his name and authority confirmed and ratified by James Earl of Ormond, together with his letter to Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, full of contumely and dishonour both to the parliament and army. And on the other side an *insolent and seditious representation* from the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast in the North of Ireland, no less dishonourable to the state, and much about the same time brought hither; there will be needful as to the same slanderous aspersions but one and the same vindication against them both. Nor can we sever them in our notice and resentment, though one part entitled a Presbytery, and would be thought a *protestant* assembly, since their own *unexampled virulence* hath wrapt them into the same guilt, made them accomplices and assistants to the abhorred Irish rebels, and with them at present to advance the same interest. If we consider both their calumnies, their hatred; and the pretended reasons of their hatred to be the same; the time also, and the place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formal words, which may be easily dissembled, to make the most perfect conjunction, and between them to divide that island."

After animadverting on the "Articles of Peace," he then proceeds to consider more at large the Representation of the Presbytery of Belfast:—

" We have now to deal, though in the same country, with another sort of adversaries, in show far different, in substance much the same. These write themselves the Presbytery of Belfast, a place better known by the name of a late barony, than by the fame of these men's doctrine or ecclesiastical deeds, whose obscurity till now never came to our hearing. And surely we should think this their representment far beneath considerable, who have neglected and past over the like unadvisedness of their fellows in other places more near us, were it not to observe in some particulars the sympathy, good intelligence, and joint pace which they go in the North of Ireland, with their copartning rebels in the South, driving on the same interest to lose us that kingdom, that they may gain it themselves, or at least share in the spoil ; though the other be open enemies, these pretended brethren.

" The Introduction of their Manifest out of doubt must be zealous. " Their duty (they say) to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account." What mean these men? Is the Presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent, that their voices cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts far beyond the diocese of Patrick or Columba, their written representation, *under the subtle pretence* of feeding their own flock? Or do they think to oversee or undertake to give an account for all to whom their paper sends greeting? St Paul to the Elders of Ephesus thinks it sufficient to give charge that they take heed to themselves and to the flock, over which they were made overseers ; beyond those bounds he enlarges not their commission. And surely when we put down Bishops, and put up Presbyters, which the most of them

have made use of to *enrich and exalt* themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors, we did not think that one classic fraternity so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state affairs within the censure and jurisdiction of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge.

“ We very well know that church censures are limited to church matters, and these within the compass of their own province, or to say more truly, of their own congregation; that affairs of state are not for their meddling, as we could urge even from their own invectives and protestations against the bishops, wherein they tell them with much fervency, that ministers of the gospel, neither by that function nor by any other which they ought accept, have the least warrant to be pragmatical in the state.

“ And surely in vain were bishops for these and other causes forbid to sit and vote in the house, if these men out of the house and without vote, shall claim and be permitted more license on their *presbyterian* stools, do breed continual disturbance by *interposing in the commonwealth*. But seeing that now, since their heaving out the prelates to heave in themselves, they devise new ways to bring both ends together which will never meet, that is to say, their former doctrine with their present doings, as that they cannot else teach magistrates and subjects their duty, and that they have besides a right themselves to speak as members of the commonwealth, let them know that there is a wide difference between the general exhortation to justice and obedience, which in this point is the utmost of their duty, and the state disputes wherein they are now grown such busy bodies, to preach of titles, interests, and alterations in government, more than our Saviour himself, or any of his apostles ever took upon them, though the title both

of Caesar and of Herod, and what they did in matters of state, might have then admitted controversy enough.

“ Next for their civil capacities, we are sure that pulpits and church assemblies, whether classical or provincial, never were intended or allowed by wise magistrates, nor nor by him that sent them, to advance such purposes; but that as members of the commonwealth they ought to mix with other commoners, and in that temporal body to assume nothing above other private persons, or otherwise than in a usual and legal manner; not by distinct remonstrances and representations, as if they were a tribe and party by themselves, which is the next immediate way to make the church lift a horn against the state, and claim an absolute and undepending jurisdiction, as from like advantage and occasion (to the trouble of all christendom) *the Pope* hath for many ages done; and not only our bishops were climbing after him, but our presbyters also, as by late experiment we find.* Of this representation, therefore, we can esteem and judge no other than of a slanderous and seditious libel, sent abroad by a sort of incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible name of a presbytery.

* It appears from this, that Milton had but an imperfect idea of that freedom of thought, and liberty of discussion, which authorises the most considerable person or body of men in the nation to deliver their sentiments on public affairs in times of alarm, with vigilance and promptitude. The cause which will not bear the scrutiny of a temperate and honest discussion, must be practically or systematically bad.—If it were merely Milton's intention to reprehend the Presbytery of Belfast for canvassing state transactions in their ministerial capacity, his censures are just, and his arguments (See p. 56.) incontrovertible. To exert an undue influence over our political concerns by means of clerical terrors, is not the duty of christian ministers. The protestant clergy dare not now assume such a prerogative. I wish I could pronounce the same of those of the Roman Catholic Religion, who have never failed to render their flocks dependent on them in political matters, when it suited their designs.

" A second reason of their representing is, " that they consider the dependance of that kingdom upon England," which is another shameless untruth that ever they considered ; as their own actions will declare, by conniving, and in their silence partaking with those in Ulster, whose obedience, by what we have yet heard, stands dubious, and with an eye of conformity rather to the north, than to that part where they owe their subjection ; and this in all likelihood by the inducement and instigation of these representers, who are so far from considering their dependance on England, as to presume at every word to term proceedings of parliament, the insolencies of a sectarian party, and of private men. Despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities, which hypocritically they would seem to dissuade others from ; and not fearing the due correction of their superiors, that may in fit season overtake them. When as the least consideration of their dependance on England would have kept them better in their duty.

" The third reason which they use, makes against them ; the remembrance how God punished the contempt of their warning last year upon the breakers of the covenant, whence the next year after they forget the warning of that punishment hanging over their own heads for the very same transgression, their manifest breach of covenant by this seditious representation, accompanied with the doubtful obedience of that province which represents it.

" And thus we have their preface supported with three reasons ; two of them notorious falsities, and the third against themselves ; and two examples, the province of London, and the commissioners of the Kirk assembly. But certain, if canonical examples bind not, much less do apocryphal.

" Proceeding to avouch the trust put upon them by God,

which is plainly proved to be none of this nature, they would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or authors of divisive motions, their record, they say, is in heaven, and their truth and honesty no man knows where. For is not this a *shameless hypocrisy* and of *mere wolves in sheep's clothing*, to sow sedition in the ears of all men, and to face us down in the very act, that they are authors of no such matter. But let the sequel both of their paper, and the obedience of the place wherein they are, determine.

“ Nay, while we are yet writing these things, and foretelling all men the rebellion which was even then designed in the close purpose of *these unhallowed priestlings*, at the very time when with their lips they disclaimed all sowing of sedition, news is brought, and too true, that the Scottish inhabitants of that province are actually revolted, and have not only besieged in Londonderry those forces which were to have fought against Ormond, and the Irish rebels, but have in a manner declared with them, and begun open war against the parliament; and all this by the incitement and illusions of that *unchristian Synagogue at Belfast*, who yet dare charge the parliament, that notwithstanding specious pretences, yet their actions do evidence that they love a rough garment to deceive. The deceit we own not, but the comparison, by what at first sight may seem alluded, we accept; for that hairy roughness assumed, won Jacob the birthright both temporal and eternal; and God, we trust, hath so disposed the mouth of *these Balaams*, that coming to curse, they have stumbled into a kind of blessing, and compared our actings to the faithful act of that patriarch.

“ But if they mean, as more probably their meaning was, that rough garment spoken of in Zach. xiii. 4. we may then behold the pitiful store of learning and theology, which *these*

deceivers have thought sufficient to uphold their credit with the people, who, though the rancour that leavens them have somewhat quickened the common drawling of their pulpit elocution, yet for want of stock enough in scripture phrase to serve the necessary uses of their malice, they are become so liberal, as to part freely with their own budge gowns from off their backs, and bestow them on the magistrate as a rough garment to deceive, rather than not be furnished with a reproach though never so improper, never so obvious to be turned upon themselves. For but with half an eye cast upon that text, any man will soon discern that rough garment to be their own coat, their own livery, the very badge and cognisance of such false prophets as themselves. Who, when they understand, or ever seriously mind the beginning of that fourth verse, may be ashamed every one of his lying vision, and may justly fear that foregoing denouncement to such as speak lies in the name of the Lord, (verse 3,) lurking under the rough garment of outward rigor and formality, whereby they cheat the simple. So that this rough garment to deceive we bring ye once again, grave Sirs, into your own vestry, or with Zachary, shall not think much to fit it to your own shoulders. To bestow ought in good earnest on the magistrate, we know your classic priestship is too gripple, for ye are always begging; and for this rough gown to deceive, we are confident ye cannot spare it; it is your Sunday gown, your every day gown, your only gown, the gown of your faculty, your divining gown; to take it from ye were sacrilege. Wear it, therefore, and possess it yourselves, *most grave and reverend Carmelites*, that all men both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know ye and distinguish ye by it; and give to your rough gown wherever they meet it, whether in pulpit,

class, or provincial synod, *the precedency, and pre-eminence of deceiving.*

“They charge us next that we have broken the covenant, and loadened it with slighting reproaches. For the reproaching let them answer that are guilty, whereof the state, we are sure, cannot be accused. For the breaking, let us hear wherein. In labouring, say they, to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions. This touches not the state; for certainly were they so minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in their hands; and we know of no act as yet passed to that purpose. But suppose it done, wherein is the covenant broken? The covenant enjoins us to endeavour the extirpation first of popery and prelacy, then of heresy, schism, and prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means; but these divines might know, that *to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword, but of the spiritual which is the word of God.*

“No man well in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade will take a mallet or a beetle. Nor doth the covenant any way engage us to extirpate, or to prosecute the men, but the heresies and errors in them, which we tell these divines, and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to their own function, in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine, in the confuting, *not the railing down errors*, encountering both in public and private conference, and by *the power of truth, not of persecution*, subduing those authors of heretical opinions, and lastly, in the spiritual execution of church discipline within their own congregations. In all these ways we shall

assist them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us join with them, and moreover not tolerate the free exercise of any religion, which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound doctrine or the power of godliness ; for the conscience we must have patience till it be within our verge. And thus doing we shall believe to have kept exactly all that is required from us by the covenant. Whilst they by their seditious practices against us, than which nothing for the present can add more assistance or advantage to those bloody rebels and papists in the South, will be found most pernicious covenant breakers themselves, and as deep in that guilt as those of their own nation the last year ; the warning of whose ill success, like men hardened for the same judgment, they miserably pervert to an encouragement in the same offence, if not a far worse. For now they have joined interest with the Irish rebels, who have ever fought against the covenant, whereas their countrymen the year before made the covenant their plea. But as it is a peculiar mercy of God to his people, while they remain his, to preserve them from wicked confederations ; so it is a mark and punishment of hypocrites to be driven at length to mix their cause, and the interest of their covenant with God's enemies.

“ And whereas they affirm, that the *tolerating* of all religions in the manner that we tolerate them, is an innovation ; we must acquaint them that *we are able to make it good if need be, both by scripture and the primitive fathers, and the frequent assertion of whole churches and protestant states, in their remonstrances and exhortations against the popish tyranny over souls.* And what force of argument do these doctors bring to the contrary ? But we have long observed to what a pass the bold ignorance and sloth of our clergy tends, no less now than

in the bishops' days, to make their bare sayings and censures authentic with the people, though destitute of any proof or argument. But thanks be to God they are discerned.

" Their next impeachment is, that we oppose the presbyterian government, the hedge and bulwark of religion, which all the land knows to be *a most impudent falsehood*, having established it with all freedom wherever it hath been desired. Nevertheless, as we perceive it aspiring to be *a compulsive power* upon all without exception in parochial, classical, and provincial hierarchies, or to require the fleshy arm of magistracy in the execution of a spiritual discipline, to punish and amerce by any corporal infliction those whose consciences cannot be edified by what authority they are compelled, we hold it no more to be the hedge and bulwark of religion, than the popish and prelatical courts, or the Spanish inquisition.

But we are told, we embrace paganism and judaism in the arms of toleration. A most audacious calumny. And yet while we detest judaism, we know ourselves commanded by St Paul, (Rom. xi.) to respect the Jews, and by all means to endeavour their conversion.

" Neither was it ever sworn in the covenant to maintain a universal presbytery in England, as they falsely allege, but in Scotland against the common enemy, if our aid were called for; being left free to reform our own country according to the word of God, and the example of best reformed churches; from which rule we are not yet departed.

" But here, utterly forgetting to be ministers of the gospel, they presume to open their mouths, not in the spirit of meekness, as like dissemblers they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood, as any Irish rebel could have uttered; and from *a barbarous nook of Ireland*,

brand us with the extirpation of laws and liberties ; things which they seem as little to understand as ought that belongs to good letters or humanity.

“ That we seized on the person of the King,” who was surrendered into our hands an enemy and captive by our own subordinate and paid army of Scots in England. Next, “ our imprisoning many members of the House.” As if it were impossible they should deserve it, conspiring and banding against the public good ; which to the other part appearing, and, with the power they had, not resisting, had been a manifest desertion of their trust and duty. No question but it is as good and necessary to expel rotten members out of the house as to banish delinquents out of the land ; and the reason holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is their number. They had no privilege to sit there and vote home the author, the impenitent author of all our miseries, to freedom, honour, and royalty, for a few fraudulent if not destructive concessions. Which that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all men, so much the more expedient and important to the commonwealth was their speedy seizure and exclusion ; and no breach of any just privilege, but a breach of their knotted faction. And here they cry out, “ an action without parallel in any age.” So heartily we wish all men were unprejudiced in all their actions, as these illiterate denouncers never paralleled so much of any age as would contribute to the tythe of a century. “ That we abolish parliamentary power, and establish a representative instead thereof.” Now we have the height of them ; these profound instructors in the midst of their representation, would know the English of a representative, and were perhaps of that class who heretofore were as much staggered at triennial.

“ Their grand accusation is our justice done on the king, which, that they may prove to be without rule or example, they venture all the credit they have in divine and human history, and by the same desperate boldness, detect themselves to be *egregious liars and impostors*, seeking to abuse the multitude with a show of that gravity and learning which never was their portion. Had their knowledge been equal to the knowledge of any stupid monk or abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him who first instituted their order; but these blockish presbyters of Clondeboy, know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing, and of killing kings. And thus while they deny that any such rule can be found, the rule is found in their own country, given them by their own first presbyterian institutor, and they themselves like irregular friars walking contrary to the rule of their own foundation, deserve for so gross an ignorance and transgression to be disciplined on their own stools. Or had their reading in history been any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or their malice not heightened to a blind rage, they never would so rashly have thrown the dice to a palpable discovery of their ignorance and want of shame. But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the most prodigal mispenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reason? It is sufficient we have published our defences, given reasons, given examples of our justice done; books also have been written to the same purpose for men to look on that will, that no nation under heaven but in one age or other hath done the like. The difference only is, which rather seems to us matter of glory, that they for the most part

have without form of law done the deed by a kind of martial justice; we by the deliberate and well weighed sentiment of a legal judicature.

“ But they tell us, “ it was against the interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland;” and did exceeding well to join those two together, hereby informing us what credit or regard need be given in England to a Scotch protestation, ushered in by a Scotch interest; certainly no more than we see is given in Scotland to an English declaration, declaring the interest of England. If then our interest move not them, why should theirs move us? If they say, we are not all England, we reply, they are not all Scotland; nay, were the last year so inconsiderable a part of Scotland as were beholding to this which they now term the sectarian army, to defend and rescue them at the charges of England from a stronger party of their own countrymen, in whose esteem they were no better than sectarians themselves. But they add, it was against the former declarations of both kingdoms to seize or proceed against the king. We are certain that no such declarations of both kingdoms as derive not their full force from the sense and meaning of the covenant can be produced.

“ And if they plead against us the covenant, to preserve and defend his person; we ask them briefly whether they take the covenant to be *absolute or conditional*? If absolute, then suppose the king to have committed all prodigious crimes against God, or nature, or whole nations, he must nevertheless be sacred from all violent touch. Which absurd opinion, how it can live in any man’s reason, either natural or rectified, we much marvel; since God declared his anger as impetuous for the saving of King Benhadad, though surrendering himself at mercy, as for the killing of Naboth. If it be conditional, in

the preservation and defence of religion, and the people's liberty, then certainly to take away his life being dangerous and pernicious to both these, was no more a breach of the covenant, than for the same reason at Edinburgh to behead Gordon, the marquis Huntley. By the same covenant we made vow to assist and to defend all those that should enter with us into this league; not absolutely, but in the maintenance and pursuing thereof. If, therefore, no man else ever were so mad as to claim from hence an impunity from all justice, why should any for the king, whose life, by other articles of the same covenant, was forfeit. Nay, if common sense had not led us to such a clear interpretation, the Scotch commissioners themselves might boast to have been our first teachers; who when they drew to the malignance which brought forth that perfidious last year's irruption against all the bands of covenant or christian neighbourhood, making their hollow plea the defence of his majesty's person, they were constrained by their own guiltiness to leave out that following morsel that would have choked them, the preservation and defence of true religion, and our liberties. And questionless in the preservation of these we are bound as well, both by the covenant and before the covenant, to preserve and defend the person of any private man, and the person and authority of any inferior magistrate. So that this article objected with such vehemence against us, contains not an exception of the king's person, and authority to do by privilege what wickedness he list, and be defended, as some fancy, but an express testification of our loyalty, and the plain words without wresting will bear as much, that we had no thoughts against his person or just power, *provided they might consist with the preservation and defence of true religion and our liberties.* But to these how hazardous his

life was will be needless to repeat so often. It may suffice, that while he was in custody, where we expected his repentance, his remorse at last and compassion of all the innocent blood shed already and hereafter likely to be shed for *his mere wilfulness*, he made no other use of our continual forbearance, our humblest petitions and obtestations at his feet, but to sit *contriving and fomenting new plots against us*, and as his own phrase was, playing his own game, upon the miseries of his people; of which we desire no other view at present than these articles of peace with the rebels, and the rare game likely to ensue from such a cast of his cards. And then let men reflect a little upon the slanders and revilings of *these wretched priests*; and judge what modesty, what truth, what conscience, what any thing fit for ministers, or we might say reasonable men can harbour in them. For what they began in shamelessness and malice, they conclude in frenzy; throwing out a sudden rhapsody of proverbs quite from the purpose; and with as much comeliness as when Saul prophesied. For casting off, as he did his garments, all modesty and meekness wherewith the language of ministers ought to be clothed, speaking especially to their supreme magistrate, they talk at random of servants reigning, servants riding, and wonder how the earth can bear them. Either these men imagine themselves to be marvelously high set and exalted in the chair of Belfast, to vouchsafe the parliament of England no better style than servants, or else their high notion, which we rather believe falls as low as court parasitism, supposing all men to be servants but the king. And then all their pains taken to seem so wise in proverbial, serves but to conclude them downright slaves; and the edge of their own proverb falls reverse upon themselves. For as delight is not seemly for fools, much less high words to come

from base minds. What they are for ministers, or how they crept into the fold, whether at the window or through the wall, or who set them there so haughty in the pontifical see of Belfast, we know not. But this we rather have cause to wonder if the earth can bear this unsufferable insolence of upstarts, who from a ground, which is not their own, dare send such defiance to the sovereign magistracy of England, by whose authority and in whose right they inhabit there. By their actions we might rather judge them to be a generation of highland thieves and red-shanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the Saxons by merit of their warfare against our enemies, but by the courtesy of England to hold possessions in our province, a country better than their own, have with worse faith than those heathens, proved ungrateful and treacherous guests to their best friends and entertainers. And let them take heed, lest while their silence, as to these matters, might have kept them blameless and secure under those proceedings which they so feared to partake in, that these their treasonable attempts and practices have not involved them in a far worse guilt of rebellion, and (notwithstanding that fair dehortatory from joining with malignants) in the appearance of a co-interest and partaking with the Irish rebels; against whom, though by themselves pronounced to be the enemies of God, they go not out to battle as they ought, but rather by these their doings assist and become associates."

Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Milton and the tolerant party, the Presbytery of Belfast persisted in their resolution, and published on the 10th of April, 1649, *A Vindication of their Representation*, in which they "disclaim the usurped power of the Sectaries in England, and profess their

constant resolutions to subject themselves to the lawful authority of THE RIGHTEOUS KING and free parliament of England," and so " hearty a concern," according to Dr Kirkpatrick, did they shew " for the KING'S INTEREST," that they outstepped the limits of their spiritual jurisdiction, and exercised an insolent domination over the *civil* magistrate himself. One remarkable instance is recorded :—" April 10. 1649. Compeared Mr Forster, Sovereign of Belfast, and was *rebuked* for fencing (*i. e. holding*) the courts without mentioning of the KING'S NAME, contrary to the *covenant*, who promised to amend the same in time coming."*

So great were the apprehensions excited for the safety of the Kirk and the Covenant by the clamours of the Belfast Presbytery and their associates, that " they now insisted that the covenant should be renewed, and being supported by the officers of the army, tendered it to Colonel Monk and Sir Charles Coote, who refusing to take it, all the north rose in arms, declaring against the English rebels and their measures, and made themselves masters of all the towns and places of strength in those parts, except the forts of Culmore and Derry."† Disgusted with the proceedings of their party, to whom they had so long adhered, the Lord of Ards, Sir George Monroe and others, now suddenly changed sides, and united themselves with the Lord Lieutenant and that party professing submission to Charles Stuart son of the late tyrant, who had already assumed the style of King of Great Britain and Ireland. In the summer of the same year Monroe commenced active operations in favour of the cause he had lately espoused, and having

* Kirkpatrick, p. 287.

† Carte, vol. ii. p. 76.—Ormond's Letters, vol. ii. p. 381.—Kirkpatrick's Historical Essay, p. 284.

burned the towns of Antrim and Lisnegarvy, invested Belfast with an army composed of native Irish. "Upon this Colonel Maxwell, then governor of the town, with his regiment, knowing the weakness of the place, and their inability to defend themselves against Monroe and his forces, sent immediately to the Lord of Ards to come speedily for the relief of the place; who coming with a party of horse and foot, and having disposed his men conveniently in several places of the town and on the walls, produced his commission of General-Governor in Ulster, requiring the governor to surrender himself and the place to him. This carriage of a person on whom they so confidently relied, was very surprising, and occasioned some sharp reflections. However, the garrison being sensible of their own inability to defend themselves against enemies both within and without the walls, laid down their arms for the most part."* Shortly after, Carrickfergus surrendered to Ards and Monroe, the former of whom published a declaration in vindication of his conduct, in which he "*requires* all well affected and loyal subjects, as they tender the glory of God, and the preservation of religion in its purity amongst us, the honour and happiness of his MAJESTY, our *undoubted* and *lawful* sovereign, now banished and debarred from his throne, by the power and practices of those wicked men, who have likewise overturned government both civil and ecclesiastical in his other dominions, and go about to do the like in this, which is now the quarrel and dispute, and as they wish the particular safety and well-being of every one of us, in what also is most near and dear to us, to give cheerful and ready obedience to his Majesty's commission granted to me; otherwise, I take God to

* *Sample of Jet Black Prelatic Calumny*, p. 192.

witness, that if I be compelled to procure by force that obedience which every good subject is bound by his allegiance to render willingly, I am free of all the sad consequences and evils that may follow thereupon." But the Presbyterians, to whom this paper was addressed, entertained too high a sense of the blessings at least of *civil* liberty to be convinced that it was their duty to fall down and worship a parchment commission, granted by a *self-elected* king, without a clear avowal of the nature of his demands, and the extent of their obedience. It is however to be lamented that their ideas of liberty were so narrow and confined, as to lead us to a conviction that they sought only their own aggrandisement, and the power of imposing upon others that yoke which they themselves had been unable to bear. The subscription of the Covenant, and consequently the non-toleration of every sect but themselves, they considered indispensable, and the Independents and Episcopalians, who then shewed an inclination to an universal toleration of all sects, were held by them in the utmost abhorrence.

To the declaration of the Lord of Ards above-mentioned an answer was immediately sent by the Presbytery at Bangor, on the 7th July, 1649, in which they pour forth the utmost virulence of their malignity against him* for his desertion of the

* The Presbytery of Carrickfergus had on the 29th of June preceding, pronounced, in the spirit of prophecy, the utter destruction of himself and all his family :—" We must be faithful in warning your Lordship (though the Lord knows what heaviness it is to us,) that the Lord will reward you if you repent not for such a betraying of the faithful servants of God, who would have plucked out their eyes for you, and the Lord will visit your family with sudden ruin and irreparable desolation, for that you have been so grand an instrument to destroy the work of God here." !!!—See *The Complaints of the Boutifew, Scorched in his own Kindlings*, Lond 1649, p. 2. The following remarks from the same pamphlet, deserve, in my opinion, to be written in letters of gold. They relate to the necessity urged by the

solemn league and Covenant, and in unison with their brethren in Scotland, disclaim all connection with Charles Stuart, until he confirm all the articles of that intolerant and fanatical instrument. " Yet he (i. e. Ards,) has now clothed himself with a commission from his *Majesty*, who as yet refuseth to give any satisfaction in *religion* unto the just desires of the people of Scotland. Yea, his concessions are less than these granted by his royal father, which yet were declared by Church and State unsatisfactory, and therefore the executing such a commission is nothing else but an endeavour to set up the King's Majesty, not only before religion, but in a quarrel destructive unto it. For the first difference between the King and his people, was touching HIS ABSOLUTE AND LIMITED POWER in civil things, and his adherence to *Prelacy*, and maintaining their power; for which both our late sovereign and his Majesty who now is, did raise arms against their subjects, and to this day that same quarrel is avouched and owned by his Majesty; and all his commissions tend to the bringing him to that power which was justly denied his royal Father."*

But the selfish and fanatical schemes of these hypocritical pretenders to liberty were soon dissipated and dissolved into air, at the approach of a man who always respected the rights

Presbyterians of that day, of requiring the interference of the civil magistrate for the protection of their religion. " But because you talk of securing of religion, tell us what that *same religion* is, that needs to be secured by Kings? Was it not that *true religion* that once grew and spread in the world, and made a conquest of the Roman sword, against all the power of that empire, set on work by the devil, to oppose and endeavour to root it out. Religion properly so called, can maintain itself without external power, it is *their religion* that calls for defence from the secular arm, that is not able to defend itself from the appearance of truth, which is great, and will prevail over all antichristian forms and clouds."—p. 8.

* *Sample*, p. 197.

of conscience, and admitted religious liberty "in its most ample expansion."

On the 15th August, the famous Oliver Cromwell landed in Dublin with a formidable army, and in a short time the whole island fell into the hands of the republicans. On the 27th of September, "Colonel Venables advanced to Lisburn, where Major Bruffe joining him with a troop of horse of the county, he marched to Belfast, which within four days surrendered upon articles." * About the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel Owen O'Conolly (the first discoverer of the Irish rebellion, and a rigid adherent of the parliament,) marching with a party of horse from Belfast to Antrim, was attacked by George Monroe, and totally routed; Colonel O'Conolly and Captain Rooper, with about 20 others being slain, and the same number taken prisoners. †

Although this country remained perfectly quiet under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, yet it appears that a considerable party still adhered to the royal cause, and waited anxiously for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Amongst this party were the Presbyterian ministers of the counties of Down and Antrim, who, as it appears, were "summoned by Colonel Venables to appear before him, to answer their *pretended sedition* in preaching, praying, and practising against the Commonwealth of England, and in favour of the royal family. Whereupon some of the Presbytery fled, some absconded, and others were taken prisoners." The ministers of the county of Down were brought to Belfast, and those of the county of Antrim, to Carrickfergus. The former "were imprisoned in a

* *Carte's Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 90.

† Cox, p. 15, and a single Sheet with the title of *The taking of Wexford*, &c.—Lond. 1649, p. 6.

lodging, where none of the Lord's people durst come to visit them, nor hear them either preach, or join with them in prayer. The heathen did not so deal with the apostle Paul. (Acts xxviii. 17.) At a conference held before Colonel Venables, they undauntedly professed their dissatisfaction at the present constituted authorities as an *usurpation*, and declared openly that they were "under the moral tye of subjects unto a former established government by *King, House of Lords, and Commons*, and conceive that this is the only true established authority." They were then offered the alternative of preserving silence on these heads, or "liberty to free depart the province, and repair to Scotland within ten days." About two months afterwards (Aug. 14, 1650,) Sir Charles Coote, commander of the army in the province of Ulster, published a *declaration* against the Presbyterian ministers, threatening them with the "use of all means to silence all such incendiary instruments," who "rather giving the children stones than bread, and instead of edification of souls, seek the subversion and ruin of the state."

But the period was now arrived (Oct. 21, 1652,) when the ministers were peremptorily summoned to Belfast to take the oath, and accede to the demands of government. Again they remained inflexible, and delivered into the commissioners a paper which they had prepared the day before at Comber, expressly declaring, "that they could not own the government as lawful, nor bind themselves by any oath or subscription to it." After a conference of six hours they were dismissed, and desired to attend again in six weeks, and in the mean time to "make no insurrection in the country." On their second appearance, still persisting in this opposition, they were ordered to send two of their number to *Dublin*, to answer for their conduct before General Fleetwood and the council: accordingly,

Patrick Adair, minister of Belfast, and Mr Archibald Ferguson, were appointed, and received instructions to adhere resolutely to their principles, and were particularly charged not to give any title to Fleetwood and the officers "which might seem to approve of their present power."

Their behaviour before the council proved exactly agreeable to these instructions, and it is recorded, that they persisted in asserting their principles with such undaunted courage, as to confound some of their accusers.—Of this an extraordinary instance is related. "While Mr Ferguson was pleading conscience for their judgment and practice, one Allan, an Anabaptist replied; 'A Papist would and might say as much for himself, and pretend conscience as well as you:' to which Mr Adair boldly answered: 'Sir, under favour, it is a mistake to compare our consciences with Papists, for a Papist's conscience could digest the killing of Protestant kings, and so would not ours, for our principles are contrary to it.' There being divers there who had a hand in the King's murder, all of them were struck with shame, and some with anger, by Mr Adair's cutting repartee; pulling down their hats over their faces, and using the other gestures that are the usual indications of those passions: whereupon there was a profound silence in the company. The ministers were *not asked any more questions*, but in a day or two were dismissed by Fleetwood, without giving or getting any satisfaction but what was the result of their own integrity and of a good conscience, in giving their public testimony against those republican usurpers to their very faces."* This opposition continued unabated through the entire Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, until the period of the restoration, when their wishes were gratified to

* Kirkpatrick, p. 290.

their cost by the return of the Stuart family to the throne of these realms. This extraordinary event was in a great measure brought about by General Monk, whom we have already seen acting a prominent part in the north of Ireland. "This wavering and narrow-minded man, with mean talents, but with deep dissimulation, was enabled to betray all who confided in him, to abandon his old associates to the butchery of legal vengeance, and with a fearful accumulation of perjury on his head, to *surrender the nation without a single stipulation in its favour*, to the dominion of a master in whom voluptuousness and cruelty were confounded in a disgusting embrace. It may be questioned whether this *unconditional restoration* can be regarded as a benefit either to the prince or to the people: to the former, whom it allured to those excesses, which induced the final expulsion of his family from the throne; to the latter, whom it immediately exposed to the evils of an injurious reign, and eventually subjected to the necessity of asserting with the blood of two domestic wars, their right to civil and religious liberty."*

1682.—In the years 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, and 1686, there belonged to the port of Belfast 67 vessels, burthen 3807 tons. The original list of their names, masters, and the places to which they traded, is published in the Belfast News-Letter, May, 1793:

1683.—This year Mr Richard Dobbs of Carrickfergus transmitted in a letter to Mr Molyneaux of Dublin, "*A Brief Description of the County of Antrim, begun the 3d of May, 1683,*" in which Belfast is thus occasionally mentioned in a few places. "*Bellfaste*, so called from the Irish word Bealafaste, the mouth

* See *The Life of John Milton*, by C. Simmons, D. D. of Jesus' College, Oxford.—Lond. 1806, p. 410.

of the ford; being built upon a ford, which at low water, they ride over to the county of Down."—Speaking of the remarkable wells in the county, he says: "In the west suburbs of *Belfast*, in a backside between the mill and the common pound, was a small weak spring which I have drank of, and was much frequented about 20 years since for the gravel; it looked like white wine on the lees, and had not the taste of ordinary water."—"From *Lambegg* the way leads direct to *Belfast*, which is all along for the most part furnished with houses, little orchards, and gardens, and on the right hand the Countess of Donegall hath a very fine park, well stored with venison, and in it a horse-course of two miles, and may be called an English road."

1688.—A monarch of the Roman Catholic persuasion was now seated on the throne of these realms, and the inevitable consequences of a circumstance so calamitous to freedom and toleration soon began to be apparent. Every nerve was strained, and every measure resorted to, in contempt of the most solemn oaths and professions, to restore the Romish religion, and the inseparable handmaids of its EXALTATION, *intolerance* and *persecution*.* But it is the province of the general historian only to enter into these details so deserving of the public attention. It is sufficient for my present purpose merely to state, that it

* The decrees of the general council of Trent (assented by the Roman Catholic religion to be the *infallible* dictates of God,) "admonish all princes in the Lord, so to perform their work, as not to permit the decrees to be wrested or violated by heretics, but to cause them to be devoutly received and earnestly observed, by all.—*Sess. xxv. dis. 4.*—And in the bull of confirmation of the council, the Pope calls upon "emperors, kings, and republics, to assist the prelates in causing the decrees (i. e. the Roman Catholic Religion,) to be observed, and to *interdict entirely* the people under their dominion from holding opinions contrary to them." The present religious proceedings in Belgium, Spain, and the south of France, are an unanswerable comment on these inspired commands.

was the will of James to dissolve the corporations, "to turn out and put in whom he pleased, without troubling the formalities of law, thereby to become absolute master of burgesses to serve in parliament,"* and his will must be obeyed. Amongst those who suffered the infringement of their chartered privileges was the corporation of Belfast, which was dissolved, and a new one erected composed of a sovereign and thirty-five burgesses, of whom at least nineteen (the majority,) were Romanists, and the remainder Protestants nominated without their knowledge or consent, and who never served in the office by virtue of that charter.†

BELFAST, OCTOBER 16,—1688.

THOMAS POTTINGER,—SOVEREIGN.

BURGESSES THIRTY-FIVE, OF WHOM THE SOVEREIGN ONE.

Sir Neill O'Neill, *Bart.*

Marks Talbot, *Esq.*

Daniel O'Neill, *Esq.*

Charles O'Neill, *Esq.*

Felix O'Neill, *Esq.*

John O'Neill, *Esq.*

J. O'Neill, *Esq. of Ballyboran*

Daniel M'Naghten, *Esq.*

James Wogan, *Esq.*

James Netterville, *Esq.*

John Savage, *Esq.*

Martin Geinon, *Esq.*

John M'Nathan, *Esq.*

Eneas Moylin, *Esq.*

George M'Cartney, *Esq.*

John O'Neill, *Gent.*

Patrick Moylin, *M. D.*

Charles Mullalan, *Gent.*

Abraham Lee, *Gent.*

George M'Cartney, *Merchant*

Thomas Knox

James Shaw

William Lockard

William Dobbin

Edward Pottinger

Peter Knowles

John Fletcher

John Echlas

William Crafort

Henry Shades

Humphry Dobbin

David Smith

Hugh Acklis

John Chambers

*Recorder left to the choice of
the Corporation*

Ralph Booth, *Town-Clerk and
Prothonotary*

But a glorious Revolution was soon to dissipate the fears of the friends of Liberty.—On the 4th of November, William,

* *Harris's Life of King William*, p. 114.

† *Conduct of the Dissenters*, p. 20.—*Kirkpatrick's Historical Essay*, p. 424.—*Harris's King William*, Appendix, p. 11.

Prince of Orange, attentive to the wishes of the freemen of England, landed at Torbay, and James fled to the continent from the vengeance of an insulted people. Meanwhile, the Protestants of the North of Ireland, beholding the certain destruction impending over their religion and liberty, resolved to form such projects as should seem most eligible to effect their deliverance. An Association was in consequence formed of the principal noblemen and gentry, in the prosecution of which, Lord Blaney in the counties of Armagh and Monaghan, and Sir Arthur Rawdon and Mr Hamilton of Tullymore, appear to have been the most active; but it was not until the alarm of an universal massacre of the Protestants, which was to have taken place on the 9th of December, that this association acquired some degree of extension and stability. Let us now examine how far Belfast was concerned in these proceedings. Dec. 3—A letter was dropped at Cumber, in the county of Down, addressed to the Earl of Mount Alexander, who resided there, and containing information of the intended massacre. Copies of this letter were soon dispersed over the kingdom, and one “was sent by William Cunningham Esq. from Belfast, inclosed in a letter of his own to George Canning Esq.* desiring him to send it to Derry with all expedition.” Thither it arrived, most fortunately, on the very morning on which the Roman Catholic army was marching to take possession of that city, and with such terror and consternation were the Protestant inhabitants seized by these concurring circumstances, that the gates were instantly closed, and the army refused admission.

1689.—A project was formed by the Protestants in the beginning of January of disarming the Roman Catholic troops in

* *Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of Derry*, Lond. 1690. p. 5.

Belfast and other places in its vicinity, and of making themselves masters of Carrickfergus. This transaction is thus related by a contemporary writer: *—"The two regiments, which by Tyrconnell's engagement were designed for the northern quarters, happened at this time to be garrisoned at Lisburn, Belfast, and other adjacent places, under the command of the Earl of Antrim and Sir Thomas Newford; when, upon a solemn debate by a committee of such as had subscribed the association, it was concluded that those regiments should be disarmed, and the castle of Carrickfergus secured, in which were arms for two regiments more. Upon the strength of this attempt they purposed to have opposed Tyrconnell upon equal terms, and by putting a garrison into Newry, they hoped to have stopped that pass, and thereby to have secured the counties of Down and Antrim for the Protestant interest. This project seemed the more feasible, because 150 of Newcomen's regiment, consisting only of 500 men, were Protestants, and ready to join in the execution of this design, offering as a further demonstration of their good-will to the public service, an excellent stratagem for the surprise of the castle at Carrickfergus, which they proposed to effect under the pretence of their colonel's purpose to garrison there; but the failure of their designs against Belfast rendered this contrivance useless, which happened in this manner:—When the project of disarming the Popish soldiers in that town was upon execution, Sir William Franklin, Mr Upton, and Mr Hamilton of Tullymore, together with Captain Leighton, Captain Berningham, Lieutenant Barnes, Lieutenant Tubman, and several other officers of the regiment, and citizens of the town, met in order to accomplish their designs; but the first three relenting, absolutely refused to go on, though often

* *A Faithful History of the Northern Transactions*, Lond. 1690, p. 11.

pressed to it by the officers. Captain Leighton urging the feasibility of it, by engaging to disarm the whole garrison with the assistance only of as many men as might serve to bring off their arms; but the three first gentlemen discountenancing the Captain's offer, and interposing their great authority with the town, the whole project fell, and Hamilton of Tullymore galloped towards Sir Arthur Rawdon, who, marching with about 500 men to make good the attempt, was advanced within five miles of the town, when this ungrateful message diverted him, and occasioned his giving such marks of reproach, as was due those who had stifled so hopeful a design.* Those who had been appointed to seize the Popish arms in Lisburn, having taken advantage of the night, did the work; but their correspondents of Belfast, assuring them of a failure by the undertakers of that town, made them dread the consequence of being solely exposed to the revenge of the government, which consideration put them upon returning those arms they had taken. The several gentlemen who had commanded in the army, having by this vain attempt discovered their aversion to the Popish interest, marched off with 150 of their men, hoping thereby to prevent any surprise, which might have afterwards betrayed them into the hands of their colonel, who likewise finding his number very much decreased by the desertion of so many of

* *Mackenzie*, in his *Narrative of the Siege of Derry*, attributes the failure of this surprise to the want of timely notice given to "the gentlemen of Belfast, Mr Hamilton not coming thither before nine o'clock that night, when the soldiers were in their quarters. They objected also the ill consequences that might ensue from the doing of it to the town of Belfast, if they should afterwards fail of securing Carrickfergus; and therefore urged the delaying of it till they had more fully concerted their measures, and put the country into a better posture of defence: upon this, Sir Arthur Rawdon and Sir John MacGill were forced to disperse their men, though not without great reluctance and regret at the disappointment."—*Mackenzie's Narrative*," p. 11.

his soldiers, and fearing the consequence of a second project, retreated in all haste to safer quarters. The garrison of Newry (which at that time consisted only of two companies,) hearing of the Protestant design against the soldiers of Lisburn and Belfast, and expecting a sudden onset from the inhabitants of that town, quitted their posts, and could not be persuaded to return till they were first assured of the unhappy failure."^{*}

Dreading the utmost vengeance of Tyrconnel, for the share they had taken in these proceedings, the Protestant nobility and gentry now resolved to pursue the plan of association with more vigour, and nominate commanders in whom they could place confidence. The following regiments were accordingly raised and embodied in the counties of Down and Antrim:— One of horse, consisting of twelve troops, from both these counties, the earl of Mount Alexander colonel; one of foot, out of the county of Antrim, Clotworthy Skeffington colonel. Four regiments of foot were also raised in the county of Antrim, by Sir William Franklin, Mr Upton, Mr Lesley, and Mr Adair; besides another at Lisburn, designed for Captain Leighton, and 300 foot by Mr Edmiston. In the county of Down, Sir John McGill, Sir Robert Colvil, James Hamilton of Tullymore, and James Hamilton of Bangor, Esquires, raised each a regiment, with the addition of some horse and foot raised by Captain Francis Annesley. The rest of the counties of Ulster were equally ardent and successful in their levies,^{*} and a general council of union for all the associated counties of Ulster was appointed to be held at Hillsborough. A declaration of their sentiments was also published, and it was resolved to send a gentleman into England with an address to the Prince of

^{*} *Mackenzie's Narrative*, p. 11.

Orange. For this purpose Captain Baldwin Leighton was elected, who accordingly sailed from Belfast on the 10th of January. On the 22d of the same month, Patrick Adair, Presbyterian minister of Belfast, and Mr John Abernethy, were delegated "by the ministers of the North to wait upon his Highness, and before he was proclaimed king, to congratulate him (in behalf of themselves and their congregations,) on his safe arrival, and encourage him in the great enterprise he had then in view, and which (by the blessing of God upon his endeavours,) was brought to pass." *

Feb. 10.—His Highness the Prince of Orange, was pleased to transmit by Captain Leighton the following letter, addressed "To the Earl of Mount Alexander, to be communicated to the Protestant nobility and gentry in the north of Ireland," in answer to their address of the 10th of June preceding.—"Having received an account from Captain Leighton of what he was requested to represent to us in relation to the condition of the the Protestants in Ireland, we have directed him to assure you in our name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazards you are exposed to by the illegal power the Papists have of late usurped in this kingdom, and that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in our power, for rescuing you from the oppression and terrors you lie under; that in the mean time we do well approve of the endeavours we understand you are using, to put yourselves into a posture of defence, that you may not be surprised, wherein you may expect all the encouragement and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are persuaded, that there are even of the Romish communion, many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and arbitrary proceedings of some

* *Kirkpatrick's Historical Essay*, p. 395.—*Mackenzie's Narrative*, p. 10.

who pretend to be in authority; and we, thinking it just to make distinction of persons, according to their behaviour and deserts; do hereby authorise you to promise in our name, to all such as shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, our protection and exemption from those pains and forfeitures, which those only shall incur who are the maintainers and assertors of the said illegal authority, assumed and continued contrary to law: or who shall act any thing contrary to the Protestant interest, or the disturbance of the public peace in the kingdom. And for further particulars we refer you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who hath acquitted himself with fidelity and diligence in your concerns,) of the sincerity of our intentions towards you: and so we recommend you to the protection of Almighty God.—Given at St James's the 10th day of February, 1688–89.

WILLIAM H. ORANGE.

By his Highness's command, }
WILLIAM JEPHSON. }

The Protestant council now began to turn their attention to the raising of money and supplies for the support of their troops. For this purpose the voluntary contributions of the friends to the cause were invited, and it appears that "the gentlemen of the country, and merchants of Belfast" stood forward, and "subscribed such sums as they were able or willing to advance; and that copies of such subscriptions were dispersed into the several counties, and proposed as an example to induce others to contribute.—It had been previously proposed at the council to call a private sessions, in which they might charge the country, under a pretence of finishing the bridge begun at Belfast, but this was condemned as inconvenient."*

* *Faithful Account* p. 25.

A project was now formed of attacking the garrison of Carrickfergus, which by the accession of Cormuck O'Neill's new-raised forces, consisted of nineteen companies, and of seizing that post for the Prince of Orange. A parley was however immediately proposed by the earl of Antrim, commander of the Carrickfergus troops, and at a conference held in Belfast with the Council, he desired leave to divide his numbers, and that some of them might be permitted to take up their quarters in Belfast, or any other indifferent place; but this proposal was rejected, unless the earl would first suffer them to be disarmed. This, as might be expected, was obstinately rejected, and preparations were now made for the attack of the town. Accordingly, on the night of the 21st of February, 1000 foot marched from Belfast, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bre-micham and Major Baker, but the stratagem on which they depended for the surrender of the town failing, a cessation of arms was agreed on, and an account of the affair transmitted to Tyrconnel, who, on hearing of the deplorable situation of the Protestant forces in the north, resolved to dispatch thither the flower of his army, under the command of General Hamilton.*

On the 9th of March, Captain Leighton returned to the north with the answer to the northern address.* Upon his arrival King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed with the greatest demonstrations of joy in the north-eastern quarter of Ulster.

March 12.—The Romish army, in their march northward, approached Loughbrickland, and Sir Arthur Rawdon being unable to defend that place, ordered the inhabitants to retreat to the sea-coast.—Belfast afforded an asylum to many of those unfortunate sufferers.†

* *Faithful Hist.* p. 29.—*Mackensie's Narrative*, p. 12.

† *Mackensie*, p. 13.

March 14.—The Roman Catholic army entered Dromore, and the Protestant forces finding it quite impracticable to attempt making any opposition, dispersed in all directions, the greater part (to the number of 4000 men,) among whom was “one troop of Belfast, commanded by Captain White,” marching to Colerain, and the rest either removing to England, or accepting of protections from the Irish. On the approach of the enemy to the Bann, the Protestant forces stationed at Colerain and other places of the county of Antrim, took refuge in Londonderry, and contributed very materially to the defence of that important post against King James’s army.*

After the dispersion of the Protestant forces, the enemy marched northward, and Belfast surrendered to them without opposition. “The garrison of Hillburtough [Hillsborough,] being surrendered, and all the Protestant forces making their way to Colerain, there was nothing left to oppose the Irish army in all that country, where they got great plunder, especially in Lisnagarvy [Lisburn,] Belfast,† and Antrim, besides to the value of three or four thousand pounds, belonging to the Lord Massereene, in money and plate hid about his house, and discovered by his own servant for a reward of ten guineas; and besides this, they got all the furniture of his house as it stood, to a very great value: and in this plentiful country the enemy thought fit to refresh themselves, which they did.”‡

* *Mackenzie*, p. 14.

† Before the Irish army arrived in Belfast, 400 men of the garrison of Carrickfergus were on their march to plunder the town, but on Mr Pottinger’s representation, King James’s lieutenant-general sent his protection, which was immediately obeyed.—*Leslie*, p. 151. Why was not the protection equally efficacious, when the main army commenced the plunder of the town?

‡ *Full and Impartial Account of the most Material Passages in Ireland since December 1688.*—*London*, 1689, p. 14.

April 15.—Lieutenant Colonel Mark Talbot marched from Carrickfergus, “with about 100 musketeers, to Belfast, and on the 16th to Newtown [Ards,] in order to reduce the inhabitants of the Ards, who (under the command of Henry Hunter,) had risen against the Roman Catholic troops quartered in that barony;” * but through dread of the Scots, he returned on the 17th to Carrickfergus.

Hunter’s insurrection had now arrived to so alarming a pitch, that it was found necessary to send a considerable army against him, under the command of Major-general Buchan.—An action took place at Killileagh on the 30th of April, in which Hunter’s forces were completely routed.—Mr Leslie relates the following anecdote relative to the good conduct of the enemy’s forces, during their march on their return to Carrickfergus :—“As the Irish forces marched over Belfast bridge, going to their quarters, their officers stopped them, and searched to see if any of them had taken any plunder in that expedition; and what they found, caused it to be delivered to Mr Pottinger, then sovereign of the town, to be put up in the town house, in order to be restored to the owners as they should be known, which was accordingly done: and the officers would not permit the soldiers to make the least halt in the town for fear of disorders, but marched them straight to their quarters at Carrickfergus; in which they were so strict, that Major Colaghan broke a soldier’s head for taking a glass of ale at a door as he marched by. Only the regiment quartered at Antrim, staid at Belfast that night, not being able to march so fast, but committed not the least disorder.” †

As a farther confirmation of the lenity of King James’s go-

* *Leslie’s Answer to King*, Lond. 1692. p. 155.

† *Leslie’s Answer*, p. 159.

vernment in Ireland, Mr Leslie's appeals to the protection afforded to Belfast, as long as it remained in the possession of the enemy.—“I appeal (he asserts,) to Thomas Pottinger Esq. who was then sovereign of Belfast, the greatest town for trade in the north of Ireland, whether, upon his application to King James, his Majesty did not give him protection after protection for Belfast and the country about?—Whether the said Mr Pottinger did not, upon his application to King James, obtain leave for the merchants of Belfast and of the country about, to return from Scotland and other places, whither they had fled even after the time limited by his Majesty's proclamation for their return?—Whether they did not find their goods preserved for them till their return in August 1689, when Schomberg landed?—Whether the Protestants who returned were not received into protection without any oath at all required from them?—and that several English ships which came into Belfast (some from the Indies, who knew not of the war, others by stress of weather, or other causes,) and were seized by the Irish, were always released by King James, were suffered to unload, and to load again, and pursue their voyage.”*

May.—It appears from a letter of Col. Hill to Mr Pottinger, that the garrison consisted at that time (May 3,) of “six companies of Colonel Cormuck O'Neal's regiment, and a troop of dragoons in Malone and the Fall [Falls,] and that they were “kept to strict discipline.”†

June.—Copy of King James's protection to the inhabitants of Belfast, June 3, 1689.‡

* *Leslie's Answer*, p. 148.

† *Leslie, Appendix*, p. 74.

‡ *Leslie, Appendix*, p. 37.

JAMES R.

WHEREAS, Several Merchants, and other our Subjects, late Inhabitants of our Town of *Belfast*, have quitted their respective Homes, either by the instigation of Persons ill affected to us, or out of fear, and taken up of Arms, or seduced by sly and false insinuations from the Duty and Allegiance they owe us, by means whereof they are very much impoverished in their Fortunes, and they and their whole Families reduced to great wants in strange places, to the depopulation of our said Town, an lessening of Trade and Commerce therein. Now, forasmuch as we have received information that the said Persons are by woful experience convinced, that they have been thus misled and frightened from their Duty by Persons for the most part desperate in their Fortunes, or disaffected unto us and our Government, and that they do heartily repent of their having been so imposed upon, and do resolve to return again to their Habitations, Trade, and Commerce, so as they may receive our assurance of Pardon for the time past, and Protection for the time to come: and we being willing and resolved to reclaim our Subjects by mercy, and to show that we rather delight to forgive than punish, do hereby promise to give a full, general, and free pardon and indemnity for the crime of High Treason, to all such person or persons as have for the space of twelve Months last past inhabited our said Town of *Belfast*, and shall within the space of forty Days return to their Dwellings and Habitations there; as also full pardon and indemnity of all pains and forfeitures which the said Parties, or any of them might have incurred, or be subject or liable to upon account of having committed the said Crime of High Treason, and that the said Persons, and every of them may peaceably and quietly enjoy their Estates, Houses, Stocks, Goods, Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, within the said Town of *Belfast*, or elsewhere; they, upon their arrival severally taking the usual oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to us before the Sovereign, or other chief Magistrate for the time being of our said Town of *Belfast*. And of this our Will and Pleasure, thus signified in behalf of our said Subjects, late Inhabitants of *Belfast*, we hereby will and require all our Officers, both Civil and Military, to take notice; and that they presume not to imprison, indict, or molest any Person or Persons, either in their Persons or Goods, who upon this our Indulgence can claim the benefit of this our free Grace and Favour.

Given at our Court at Dublin Castle, the 3d day of June, 1699, and in the 5th Year of our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

MEMORANDUM.—That the Oath of Fidelity mentioned in this Protection was not exacted, as it is told in this Narrative; but the Protestants were received into Protection without any Oath at all required from them.

June 30.—An occurrence now took place which evinces the total inefficacy of the protection granted by James to the Protestants. The garrison of Derry had now for many weeks defended that city with a heroism which is not exemplified in ancient or modern days. Enraged to fury at such obstinacy, Marshal de Rosen, who commanded the besieging army, threatened to drive all the Protestants who inhabited the surrounding country (including Belfast, which is expressly mentioned,) under the walls of Derry, unless its defenders immediately surrendered. The garrison remained unmoved by the barbarity of this cowardly menace; the threat of Rosen was enforced, and on the 2d of July, thousands of Protestants, most of whom had protections from James, were, without the least exception of sex, age, weakness or sickness, collected and driven under the walls. Belfast appears to have been peculiarly obnoxious to Rosen and his sanguinary associates. In his general orders to governors and commanders, he gives particular directions that “you are instantly to make an exact research in Belfast and its neighbourhood, after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the King, whether men, women, boys, or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, and to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they shall be allowed to starve in sight of the rebels within the town, &c. and you are to be particularly careful, that none of the rebels, whether men or boys, women or girls, or infants, of whatever age, shall pass the river and escape the way of Charlemont, to save themselves from the wretchedness to which they are to be reduced.” To which the Protestants of Derry returned for answer, that it “caused many of them to believe, that no articles or capitulation that should be made with us, should ever be performed or kept; when we find

that the said Marshal threatens to *break the protections already given to the Protestants*, and use them in manner aforesaid; and that though we should have sufficient articles from the said Lieutenant-General to save our lives, religion, liberties, and estates, yet on landing of any army from England to invade Ireland, our articles should be broken, ourselves imprisoned or driven from home, and our goods, chattels, and provisions taken from us, and we forced to starve :” and therefore they required from King James a *new fuller commission* to treat with them, and an assurance that it should not be in the power of the said Marshal, or any other, to break their articles. Upon receiving this answer, Rosen caused his orders to be put in execution; thus acting up faithfully to the tenets of his religion, and the decrees of the Romish general council of Constance, that *faith is not to be kept with Heretics!*—An accursed maxim, always religiously executed by the Romish party when in the plenitude of their power! But the clemency of James derived doubtless from his being educated in the Protestant faith, directed that the operation of this law should in this instance be suspended, and it appears that Rosen reluctantly obeyed even his sovereign’s mandate, and dared to persist in justifying his conduct.*

The following letter from the Earl of Melfort, prime secretary of state to King James, to Thomas Pottinger, sovereign of Belfast, dated July 9, relates most probably to King James’s interference in this infamous transaction,

SIR,

Dublin Castle, July 9, 1689.

In answer to yours of the 3d instant, I can only tell you that the necessary orders are given for the subsistence of the garrison in that place, without being a burden to the people: that for such of the inhabitants as have been deluded or frightened to quit their dwellings in that town, and fly into Scotland, where there appears any moral impossibility of comply-

* *Macpherson’s Original Papers*, Dub. 1775. Vol I. p. 205. 209.

ing with the King's gracious intentions to them, without any Act of their own, and that they have not taken part with any in Rebellion against his Majesty, the King will not stint his mercy to any narrow time; his inclination leading him rather to reclaim his People by indulgent than severe or rigid courses. I have ordered the names of such as were inhabitants there, and entitled to the benefit of the King's promise of pardon, to be brought me, in order to be struck out of the list of persons to be attainted,—I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

MELFORT.

For his Majesty's special Service, to Thomas Pottinger, Esq. Sovereign of Belfast, at Belfast.

On King James's return from the siege of Derry, a parliament was held in Dublin, composed almost exclusively of Romanists. After passing an act, depriving of his estate every Irish Protestant who corresponded with James's enemies since August 1. 1688; they proceeded to attain, that is, declare traitors, and adjudge to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture 2461 protestants of all order and conditions. In the list of the names of these MARTYRS to a free Constitution, are all the respectable families of the counties of Antrim and Down, the most considerable of whom we shall proceed here to enumerate:

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.—Popham Conway *alias* Seymour. Clotworthy Skeffington, of Antrim. Robert Adair, of Ballymena. Arthur Upton, of Templepatrick. Captain Richard Dobbs, Jun. of Ballynure. Lieutenant-Colonel William Shaw, of Gameway. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stewart, of Ballintoy. Andrew Rowan, of Oldstown, Clerk. Captain William Rowan of Oldstown. Captain William Shaw, of Bush. Captain Patrick Shaw of Ballygelly. Captain James Shaw, of Belfast. Captain George Macartney, of Belfast. Captain Hugh MacNeal of Clare. Robert Clugstone, of Belfast. Captain Hercules Davis, and his son John Davis. Clotworthy Upton.

John Skeffington. Viscount Massereene. Sir William Franklin, of Belfast, Bart. Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal. Dr Reger Warren, of Belfast. Henry Cheades of ditto. William Crafford of ditto. Mr Thomas Crafford of the same. Captain David Smith, of ditto. John Black, of ditto. Arthur Macartney of ditto. James Stuart of ditto, &c. &c.

COUNTY OF DOWN.—Sir A. Royden [*Rawden*] of Moira, Bart. Sir Joseph Magill, of Gil-Hall, Knight. John Hawkins, of Rathfryland. James Hamilton of Tullymore. James Hamilton, of Bangor. James Hamilton, of Carricknasire. Charles Ward of Killough. Bernard Ward, of Castle Ward. George Maxwell, of Killyleagh. John Mac Neill, Dean of Down. Robert Echlin, of Killough. John Ward, of Castle Ward. John Blackwood of Bangor. James Mac Gill, John Mac Gill, of Munallon. William Montgomery, of Rosemount, and James his son. Hugh Mac Gill, of Kirkston. Archibald McNeal, Clerk. Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, and ditto of Ballymalady. Gawn Hamilton, of Lissuine, and William his brother. Lem. Mathews, Archdeacon of Down. Roger Hall, of Lagan. James, Hugh, and Alexander Waddle, of Island Derry. Jeremy Mussindine of Hillsborough. Charles Cosslet, of Loughinisland. Nicholas Price. Samuel Waring, of Waringstown. Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Mount Alexander, &c. &c.*

Aug. 13.—Duke Schomberg landed with 10,000 men at Groomsport, near Bangor. On the following day he sent a party of 250 men, under the command of Sir Charles Fielding, "to see what posture the enemy was in at Belfast;—the enemy was retired to Lisburn, and Sir Charles with his party returned to the camp; and then the Duke sent Colonel Wharton's

* *King's State of the Protestants*, Dub. 1730. app.

regiment to take possession of the place. On Saturday the general marched with his army to Belfast, from whence he sent out parties, who took several of the Irish that were robbing and spoiling the country; and Tuesday following, the 20th, five regiments of foot were sent towards Carrickfergus, and next day seven more went, who almost surrounded it.* On Wednesday the 28th, the town surrendered, and "the day following the army marched to Belfast, where they encamped about a mile beyond the town. On Friday, Duke Schomberg's regiment of French horse, consisting of 500 men, came to the camp, and on Saturday the army was mustered."—"Whilst the Duke staid at Belfast, there came a letter to him by a trumpet from the Duke of Berwick; but it was returned unopened, because it was directed only *For Count Schomberg*; the Duke saying, That his master, the King of England, had honoured him with the title of a Duke, and therefore the letter was not to him."

It appears that when the Irish army abandoned Belfast, Major General Maxwell had special directions from King James, not to suffer any of the goods of the Protestants to be plundered, nor any of the country to be burned on leaving it. These orders, according to Mr Leslie, were punctually observed.† From the same author we learn, that immediately

* *Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, by George Story, Lond. 1693. p. 7. *Macpherson's State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 220. *Harri's Life of King William*, p. 244.

† *Leslie's Answer*, p. 143. This statement is, however, contradicted above by Mr Story, who certainly had the best opportunity of being acquainted with the truth, as he was chaplain to several regiments during the entire campaign. For a just character of *Leslie's* work, which was written expressly to uphold the ridiculous doctrine of legitimacy, and the divine right of Kings, See *The History of Ireland*, printed by George Berwick, Belfast, 1826, p. 175.

on Schomberg's entry into the town, he "issued proclamations of protection and encouragement to the Irish who should return to their habitations and follow their labour; which many accepted, and great part of the country was thereby planted, some in as full a manner as before the revolution." However, it farther appears, that when this army came to labour under a deficiency of pay and provisions, it committed various irregularities.* Immediately on the arrival of the protestant army in the North, the Belfast merchants returned from Scotland and resumed their occupations, and if we may give credit to Mr Leslie, their goods remained untouched till their return, and this too, by King James's orders, although they could not be induced by his protections so frequently repeated, to return till the period of Schomberg's landing.

On Monday, the 2d of September, the army marched southward, and finally encamped between Jonesborough and Dundalk, and nothing farther was effected towards the reduction of Ireland, till the arrival of King William in person. During Schomberg's inactive encampment at Dundalk, a dreadful mortality took place among his troops, of whom near 1700 died in the neighbourhood of that town, and as the hospital was stationed at Belfast, vast numbers died on their removal thither. "Our ships, says Story, came from Carlingford and Dundalk about the 13th of November to Belfast, and there were shipped at those two places 1960 men, and not 1100 of those came ashore, but died at sea; nay, so great was the mortality, that several ships had all the men in them dead, and nobody to look after them while they lay in the bay at Carrickfergus. As for the great hospital at Belfast, there were 3762 that died in it from the 1st of November, to the 1st of May,

* Leslie, p. 151.

as appears by the tallies given in by the men that buried them. There were several that had their limbs so mortified in the camp, and afterwards that some had their toes, and some their whole feet that fell off as the surgeons were dressing them; so that upon the whole matter, we lost nigh one half of the men that we took over with us."

Indeed, so very violent was this fever over all the North of Ireland, at this period, that it was impossible "to come into any house but some were sick or dead, especially in Belfast where the hospital was. I have sometimes stood upon the street there, and seen ten or a dozen corps of the townspeople go by in little more than half an hour." * Belfast is described by this writer, as being "a very large town, and the greatest for trade in the North of Ireland. The inhabitants have lately built a very famous stone bridge, but the war coming on, it is not as yet finished." †

March 1699.—"The beginning of this month came 400 Danes from Whitehaven to Belfast, and the week following all the foot arrived from Chester, with the prince of Wirtemberg their general: The Duke went down to see them, and was very well pleased, for they were lusty fellows, and well clothed and armed." ‡

April 8.—"Colonel Cutt's, and Colonel Babington's, with a regiment of Danish horse, and some recruits, landed at Whitehouse, and marched to Belfast, and on the 12th Sir Cloudealy Shovel came to Belfast as convoy to several ships that brought over necessaries for the army." §

June 6.—"Count Schomberg came to Belfast. At the same time arrived our train, some arms, ammunition, and 200 carpenters and other artificers for the service of the army."*

* Story, p. 50. † Story, p. 38. ‡ Story, p. 56. § Story, p. 56.

June 14, being Saturday, King William landed at Carrickfergus about four o'clock in the afternoon. The account of his entry into Belfast is thus related by an eye witness.—“ Notice being given to the general (who had prepared Sir William Franklin's house at Belfast for his Majesty's reception, and was there attending his landing) his Grace went in his coach with all speed, to wait upon the King. Major General Kirk, and several officers that were there, expecting the King's landing, attended the Duke ; his Majesty was met by them near the Whitehouse, and received them all very kindly, coming in the Duke's coach to Belfast ; he was met also without the town by a great concourse of people, who at first could do nothing but stare, never having seen a king before in that part of the world ; but after a while, some of them beginning to buzz, the rest all took to it and followed the coach through several regiments of foot that were drawn up in town towards his Majesty's lodgings, and happy were they that could get but a sight of him.” “ That evening his highness Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord Scarborough, my Lord Manchester, the Honourable Mr Boyle, and a great many persons of quality landed. Next day the King heard a sermon preached by Dr Royse, on Heb. vi. 11. “ Through faith they subdued kingdoms ;” and the same day came several of the nobility, officers, gentry, and clergy, to wait on his Majesty. On Monday, Lieutenant General Douglass came from Hamilton's Bawn where he had been encamped for a fortnight, and Dr Walker, with a great many more of the Episcopal clergy, presented his Majesty with an address, being introduced by Duke Schomberg and the Duke of Ormond,” while another was presented “ by Patrick Adair, Archibald

Hamilton, William Adair, and others, in the name of themselves and the rest of the Presbyterian ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom," both of which he received very graciously.*

On the 19th the King departed for Lisburn, after issuing a proclamation, dated from his *court* at Belfast, commanding the officers and soldiers, upon no pretext whatever to rob or plunder, but duly pay for such provisions and necessaries as they shall have occasion for.—And on his arrival at Hillsborough on the 19th, he transmitted an order to Christopher Carleton, collector of Belfast, for the payment of 1200*l.* per annum to the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster, "being assured of the peaceable and dutiful temper of our said subjects, and sensible of the losses they have sustained, and their constant labour to unite the hearts of others in zeal and loyalty towards us."†

Although tranquillity was not restored to this distracted country till the reduction of Limerick in September 1691, yet Belfast, having first fallen into the hands of her glorious protector, enjoyed during that period, the fruits of peace. It now began rapidly to advance in prosperity and importance, and in the beginning of the following century we find Belfast not only well known on the continent as a place of considerable trade, but in a scale of credit appended to the names of the different commercial towns of Europe in the exchange at Amsterdam; Belfast stood in the first rank,‡ which respectable situation it has, since that period, continued to occupy, and from the credit annexed to it, joined with judicious enterprise, it

* *Harris's Life of King William*, p. 265, and *Story's Continuation*, p. 19.—*Kirkpatrick's Hist. Essay*, p. 397.

† *Kirkpatrick's Hist. Essay*, p. 397.

‡ *Dubourdieu's Stat. Survey*, p. 505.

has arisen to a degree of prosperity, in a course of years comparatively short, seldom exceeded, and not often equalled in any age or country.

1692.—In spring this year, seven arches of the Long Bridge fell in, the bridge having been weakened by Duke Schomberg's drawing his heavy cannon over it, as well as by a ship driving against it. However, it was soon repaired by a new charge on the two counties, and has (says Mr Harris in 1744) continued ever since in tolerable good order till of late, having received considerable damage from winter storms and floods, and if proper care be not taken in time, it may probably suffer.* The expence of the erection of this bridge was only 7000 and some odd pounds.†

1696.—The art of Printing was introduced into Belfast this year by James Blow and his brother-in-law Patrick Neill, who came over from Glasgow by invitation from Mr Crawford, then sovereign of Belfast, who entered into partnership with them. After the death of Neill the business was continued by Blow, who, about the year 1704, printed the first edition of the Bible in Ireland, and many succeeding editions.‡

1707.—On the 20th of April, a dreadful fire took place in the town of Lisburn, by which the greater part of it was reduced to ashes. A subscription was immediately commenced in Belfast to alleviate the distress of the unfortunate inhabitants of Lisburn, now reduced to the last extremity, and "in less than twelve hours fifty-four pounds were collected," Isaac McCartney, Alexander Adair, and Henry Chads, performing the office of collectors. Some time after, "in pursuance of her Majes-

* *State of the Co. Down*, p. 129.

† Belfast News-Letter, August 1792. from an original MS.

‡ Belfast News-Letter.

ty's letters patent for a collection for Lisburn, the Presbyterians of Belfast gave near forty-seven pounds to the ministers and churchwardens for that purpose."—It is not recorded what sums were contributed by the other persuasions.*

• In the year following, 1708, on the 24th of April, the castle, of Belfast was consumed, by the carelessness of a servant, who put on a large fire of wood to air a room she had washed, by which accident, Lady Jane, Lady Frances, and Lady Henrietta Chichester, daughters of Arthur, third earl of Donegall, were unfortunately burned to death.†

In a *Manuscript Tour* undertaken in August 1708, by an anonymous traveller, and preserved in the library of Dublin college, the following particulars are given of the town.—“Belfast is a very handsome, thriving, well-peopled town; a great many new houses and good shops in it. The folks seemed all very busy, and employed in trade, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants, or employed under them in this seaport, which stands conveniently enough at the very inner part of Carrickfergus. Through the town there runs a small rivulet not much better than that they call the Glibb in Dublin, which however is of great use for bringing their goods to the quay when the tide serves. Here we saw as dismal effects of another fire as that at Lisburn, which here in the night had lately burned a house belonging to the Lord Donegall's family, with three young ladies, sisters to the present earl.—It stands separate from the rest of the houses, which, as it prevented the flames going further, so it cut off timely relief, in the midst of courts and gardens, which are an extremely noble old improvement made by old Sir Arthur Chichester, who was about 100

* *Kirkpatrick's Historical Essay*, p. 442.

† *Lodge's Peerage*, by Archdall, Vol. I. p. 340.

years ago the establisher of this family, and indeed of the whole kingdom, especially the north, by planting English colonies, and civilizing the Irish. These improvements are all inclosed in a kind of fortification, being designed for a place of strength as well as pleasure, and is a lasting monument of this kind of the greatness of its founder. Here we saw a very good manufacture of earthen-ware, which comes nearest [] ~~any~~ made in Ireland, and really is not much short of it. 'Tis very clean and pretty, and universally used in the north, and I think not so much owing to any peculiar happiness in their clay, but rather to the manner of beating and mixing it up. Here they have barracks for———. On Thursday we dined with Mr. McCartney, where we were made free of the town."

1708.—As an invasion of this country was threatened by the Pretender this year, the militia was ordered to be embodied. Accordingly, the commissioners appointed to array the barony of Belfast, met at Belfast for that purpose on the 20th of May 1708, and a company of ninety men was arrayed for the town, to be commanded by the sovereign. The oath was tendered to the company, and was refused by twenty-six privates of the Presbyterian persuasion : but this opposition arose solely from their being unacquainted with the nature and extent of the oath, and not from any attachment to the Pretender.*

Towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, a violent spirit of animosity appears to have rankled in the breasts of several High Churchmen against the Protestant dissenters of this country, who were indiscriminately charged with disaffection and rebellion in all charges of government. This charge was successfully repelled by Dr Kirkpatrick, Presbyterian minister of Belfast, in his *Historical Essay on the Loyalty of Pres-*

* *Kirkpatrick's Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*, Dub. 1712, p. 26.

that they use any unfair practices in confining trade amongst themselves.—Given under our hands at Belfast, Sept. 8, 1718.

HENRY ELLIS,
NICHOLAS THETFORD,
ROBERT LEATHES,

And Seventy-seven other Inhabitants of the Town.

About this time, the vicar of Belfast was cast in a suit instituted to ~~claim~~ house-money by virtue of the statute 17 and 18, *Car. 2di. Cap. 7*. As this is a matter of some importance to the present inhabitants of Belfast, the whole transaction shall be related in the words of Dr Kirkpatrick:—"The town of Belfast (though a corporation of 100 years' standing,) never paid house-money to their vicar. The late incumbent Mr Echlin, and his successor, the present incumbent Dr Tisdall, carried on a suit against the town. Whereupon, the corporation of Belfast being advised by council, that they were not included in the *letter* or *meaning* of the above act of parliament, defended their rights, and pleaded from the preamble of the said statute, which runs thus: 'That whereas there are ~~SMALL~~ OR NO ~~TYTHES~~ OR OTHER DUTIES settled by law upon the incumbents who have actual care of souls in the city and suburbs of Dublin, and the liberties thereunto adjoining, and in other cities and towns corporate of this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland. Therefore, be it enacted, &c.'—that they were not affected by it, seeing *Belfast* is a *vicarage* endowed by law with *glebe land, all the small tythes, and a third of the great tythes*; and that by a modest computation, the product of these, and of the other dues paid by the inhabitants of the town of Belfast to their vicar, will amount *communibus annis* to 180*l.* per annum, which they pleaded from adjudged cases was a competency for

the vicar ; and that therefore, the reason of the law was not binding in their case. And they farther pleaded, that though the said sum of 180*l.* per annum should not be looked upon as a competency, yet even in that case, which is the most favourable supposition for the vicar, he cannot legally recover house-money from the inhabitants of the town, but must sue for an augmentation to his maintenance out of the *rectorial* tythes, because he that receives the impropriation of these tythes ought to endow the vicar with a competent maintenance." It appears farther, from Dr Kirkpatrick's statement, that "almost all the inhabitants of any figure and substance, of ALL PERSUASIONS, did with equal cheerfulness make their voluntary contributions" towards the defence of their common rights against the vicar, notwithstanding that the Lower House of Convocation had recommended it to the clergy, and directly espoused it as the "cause of the Church."

1714.—I have already taken occasion to notice the inveterate rancour and spirit of persecution harboured by certain *High Churchmen* in this reign against the Protestant dissenters. Another effort was made this year to stir up this foul fiend from her dark abode, but it was an expiring effort. Since that day, the growth of liberality has never been obstructed, and it is with pleasure that we reflect upon the harmony that exists between Dissenters and Churchmen. They both exult in the denomination of *Protestants*, the Holy Scriptures are their only rule of faith, and free and unrestrained *inquiry* their fundamental rule. Consequently, *implicit* faith, and *restraint* for any system of religious opinions (unless where these manifestly tend to encroach on the principle of *toleration*,) are held by them in the greatest abhorrence.*

* To uphold the divine principle of toleration ought to be the incessant

The original of the following address to Queen Anne from the county of Antrim, was found among the papers of a person deceased. *Her Majesty* was pleased to die on the 1st of August, to the great joy of the Whigs of that day, and the address was not forwarded, being then in circulation through the county for signatures.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Antrim, in her Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland; at an Assizes held for the said County on the 17th Day of July 1714, at Carrickfergus.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

The many instances of your Majesty's pious zeal for our most holy Religion, give us ground to hope that you will be able to fix our Established Church upon so solid a basis of Legal Securities, that neither Schism nor Heresy shall ever be able to prevail against her.*

object of all true Protestants. What a disheartening reflection must it not be to every lover of liberty and union, to find that intolerance and persecution are still the principles of the Roman Catholic religion. The editors of the splendid editions of the *Doway Bible*, printed at Liverpool or Chester, 1813, and Dublin 1815, attribute to the clergy of their persuasion a divine right to punish their Protestant fellow-countrymen with DEATH. "We see (say the reverend editors on Deuteronomy, Chapter xvii.) what authority God was pleased to give to the church-guides of the Old Testament, in deciding *without appeal* all controversies relating to the law; promising that they should not err therein, and punishing WITH DEATH such as proudly refused to obey *their decisions*; and surely he has not done less, for the church-guides of the *New Testament*."—Ought not this nefarious comment on the word of God, and the principle itself of persecution be *explicitly* renounced by those men who come forward to claim the office of legislators for Protestants, and ought not the most ample securities be given to prevent a possibility of their being ever put in force? We all know the *implicit confidence* reposed in their priests by individuals of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

* What a mean opinion must these men have formed of the Protestant religion, in supposing that it must fall prostrate, & deprived of "legal securities," and the protection of her "Majesty's pious zeal." It was an irreverent and impious opinion (observes the late Charles J. Fox,) to main-

As by a Sacramental Test your Majesty gave a reasonable check to the prevailing power of faction in our Corporations, so by a late important Act, you have stopped the spreading contagion of Schism in our Congregations; both which Laws must affect latest posterity, if the prevailing of faction does not break through them.

It is with the greatest pleasure we find in that excellent Act against Schism, that the Oath of Supremacy begins to revive in this Kingdom, the repeal of which had opened a wide gate, and let into our Corporations numbers of those, who, by the principles both of their religion and policy, rob the Prince of his supremacy, and place that inestimable Jewel of the Crown in the mixed body of their general assembly.

We glory in our Loyalty to your Sacred Majesty, in opposition to those amongst us who transfer it to their *Sovereign Lord*—THE PEOPLE, and dare maintain and subscribe such principles in print;* and we will with the

tain that the Church must depend for support as an engine or ally of the state, and not on the evidence of its doctrines, and the excellency of their moral effects.”—*Belham's Memoirs of George III.* vol. ii. p. 408.

* This allusion relates most probably to the conduct of Cletworthy Upton of Castle Upton, one of the representatives in parliament for the County of Antrim, who drank the above celebrated toast in a public company, and was afterwards under the necessity of publishing a vindication of himself from the charge of “insulting the monarchy,” in the year 1713. The following extract from *Dr Kirkpatrick's Historical Essay*, gives a satisfactory account of the transaction:—After a public dinner which was given on occasion of the collection for Lisburn in 1708, one of the company and I (Mr Upton,) fell on the two general topics then of conversation, viz. Passive Obedience and Non Resistance, and Hereditary Power: he alleged there was no resistance made to the late King James; which obliged me to instance the glorious behaviour of our most gracious queen, when the whole constitution was like to be overturned; the Bishop of London's being at the head of a troop of horse, and blood shed in skirmishes, &c. I desired him to reconcile absolute passive obedience and non-resistance to the Revolution, and hereditary right to our glorious King William, who had no such right when made king, and to the successor in the illustrious house of Hanover who now has none, and I had done. I alleged, if the queen had not a *parliamentary* right, her *hereditary* right would be much weakened. and that if we had not had King William, we should not have had the happiness of our gracious Queen Anne; that it was the people made King William king, and by the same act, Queen Anne queen; THEREFORE, I drank to our Sovereign Lord the People, as the original, under God, of Government; by which words I attributed no more power to the People than what the Lords and Commons of England had

utmost zeal and indignation pursue those factious Spirits, who, by particular views of their own interest, enter into measures to fix any other Princes in your dominions, even whilst you are living, or otherwise to undermine the Throne you hold so much to the glory of God, and the happiness of all your people.

And may that God who enabled your Majesty to give peace to your Subjects and Allies by the success of your arms abroad, crown you also with triumph over faction at home, and make the length of your reign as remarkable as the glories of it.

BRENT SPENCER, the Commissioner.
MASSEBENE,
EDWARD DOWN AND CONNOR,
JOHN SKEFFINGTON,

And 120 others, among whom were the following inhabitants of Belfast :

Robert Leathes, Sovereign.
William Tisdall
Joseph Wilkins,
William Walkington,
Robert Donnell,
Samuel Close,
Hugh Keenan,
Nicholas Ashe,
Richard Willoughby,
Francis Low,
Thomas Well,
James Radcliff,
Obadiah Grove,
Arthur Hughes,
Abraham Torbry,
Henry Megens
George Robertson,
John Bashford,
James Byrtt,
James Presten,
C. Cobham,

Francis Dobbs,
Matthew French,
Henry Ellis,
Roger Prichard,
William Whitehead,
John Brook's,
Francis Powell,
Philip Harding,
Josias Ewne,
Francis Hope,
E. Anderson,
John Winder,
Robert Le Byrt,
Joseph Greene,
William Seed,
James Mayfield,
J. Waring,
Robert Greene,
Wilfred M'Manus,
Matthew Wilson,

1715.—On the death of Queen Anne, George, Elector of Hanover, was called by the voice of the people to the throne of these realms, while at the same time a desperate attempt was made to restore the expelled Stuart race, in the person of James Stuart, son of James II. formerly King of Great Britain and Ireland. The issue of that ill-fated invasion is well known.—

asserted in their vote of the 28th of January 1688, in these words :
“ Resolved, that King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom by breaking the ORIGINAL CONTRACT between King and People, &c. has abdicated the Government.

Armed associations were every where embodied, and this *legitimate* Pretender was driven into obscurity. 'On this occasion, an *independent company of Volunteers* was formed at Belfast. The author has in his possession *A Sermon Preached at their Desire, May 28, 1716, being the Birth-Day of King George, by Robert M'Bride M. A. and Published at their Request.—Belfast, Printed by James Blow, 1716.*

1737.—This year (September 1.) the Belfast News Letter was commenced, being the first Newspaper printed in this town.

1745.—An audacious but abortive attempt was made this year by Charles Stuart, son of the late pretender, to *obtrude* himself on the nation as King of the British Empire, *solely* by virtue of his *hereditary* descent from James II! The northern Protestants were once more in arms to repel this threatened invasion of their rights, and the following declaration was published by the inhabitants of the counties of Antrim and Down.

August 24, 1745.—**WHEREAS**, a Rebellion raised in North Britain, by the eldest son of the Pretender, against our *rightful* Sovereign, King George II. to subvert our *religion* and *liberties*, and to entail *popery* and *slavery* upon us and our posterity: We his Majesty's *true Protestant* subjects in the Counties of Down and Antrim, having the utmost detestation of so horrid an attempt, do hereby, in the most solemn manner, vow to Almighty God, and do pledge our *faith* and honour to one another, that we will every one of us, to the utmost of our power, and at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, oppose all attempts against his Majesty's person and government, and particularly that *abominable* and *unnatural* rebellion now carried on in favour of a popish pretender. And we do hereby promise and engage to arm ourselves, and to assemble together, from time to time, as often as it may be necessary, to concert measures for effecting the purpose of our association, the defence of ourselves, our *religion* and *liberties*, against *Popery* and *arbitrary power*."

On this occasion several independent companies were formed in Belfast, but from want of the News Letters of that distant period, I am unable to enter into particulars respecting them.

We learn, however, from the *Dublin Courant*, in an extract of a letter from Belfast, dated October 9. that "it was surprising to see the keenness of young and old upon this occasion: Indeed they murmur on account of their arms being taken from them on pretence of the Game Act, by which many Protestants have been disabled from learning the use of arms; but no discouragement will intimidate them from shewing their ardour at this time, in defence of their religion, liberty, and property."

October 19.—The Earl of Antrim, (Alexander Mac Donnell) Lord Lieutenant of the County of Antrim, reviewed the volunteer and independent companies, who made a handsome appearance, and went through their exercise with great regularity and exactness. Lord Massereene and other persons of distinction were present.

1753.—As the representatives of the people impose the taxes requisite for defraying the expences of the state, it is their indispensable duty, as it is their inherent right to superintend the expenditure: But a question arose this year whether the *previous consent* of the king was required to dispose of the surplus of money which remained in the treasury after the discharge of all the expences of government. This right was insisted on by the king, and when the *bill* for disposing of the money was transmitted from England with this *addition*, it was, to the joy of all attached to the public welfare, and interested in the preservation of the essential privileges of parliament, rejected.* The Addresses on this occasion, from the

* I am sorry to add that the satisfaction they felt on this occasion was soon interrupted by a most disagreeable alloy. His Majesty by *his letter*, took the money out of the treasury which had been the subject of dispute. This exertion of prerogative gave occasion to reflections respecting the *influence of the crown*, too obvious to be mentioned.—*Crawford's History of Ireland*, 1783. p. 308.

independent electors to their constituents are collected in a volume entitled *The Universal Advertiser*, Dub. 1754. from whence the following papers, relating to the proceedings of the inhabitants of Belfast are extracted.

TO THE ADVERTISER.

SIR,

As a free and independent inhabitant of the Town of Belfast, I cannot avoid taking notice of the slovenly manner in which our address to the Speaker of the honourable House of Commons, was printed in your *Advertiser* of Tuesday last. As we entertained the justest sense of the unshaken loyalty and unbiassed patriotism of this truly great man, so I can assure you, that there never appeared greater unanimity in so large a body of men, than there was among us on this occasion. The Address was subscribed by 125 of the principal inhabitants of the town. Had we been desirous to have more names, I am persuaded more than 5000 would have been proud of the honour of subscribing it; and our letters to the worthy gentlemen entrusted with the delivery of our Address, were signed by Mr John Gordon, merchant, and agent to the Earl of Donegall, by order of the free and independent inhabitants, at a public meeting at the Market House, where there was the largest assembly that had ever been known on such an occasion.

It would have given us great pleasure, to have our names transmitted to posterity, as having approved of the Speaker's conduct upon so critical an occasion. Our duty and our loyalty have ever been such to his present Majesty, the best of Kings, and to his most illustrious house, as to make us abhor every measure that may have even the most distant tendency to alienate the affections of his subjects from him; for which reason, we shall take it as a particular favour, if you will, in your next, insert our names at length.

We are the more desirous of having this done, as it will convince the world, that we are in no wise consulted nor concerned in some late freedoms, which were clandestinely granted by the magistrate of the town,* and published as the Act of the Corporation, though it was an absolute secret to every person of any consequence in the town, till the

* Alluding to the freedom of the Corporation presented (in 1752) to Lord George Sackville, son and principal secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and to seven commissioners of the revenue, by Mr Saunders, Sovereign of the town. The conduct of the latter is severely reprehended in an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, *Letters from Belfast.—Belfast, printed in the year 1752.*

affair made its appearance in the public papers. Then, indeed, it was universally disavowed, but not in so public a manner as the gentlemen of Belfast ought to have done; and they take this opportunity of disavowing it in the most public manner.

I am, Sir, &c.

A FREE AND INDEPENDENT INHABITANT OF
THE TOWN OF BELFAST.

P. S. We likewise take the liberty to send you the answer we received from Mr Ward and Mr Upton; which we beg you may insert in your next paper.

BELFAST.—Last Friday an Address from the Free and Independent Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast, to the Right Honourable HENRY BOYLE, Esq. Speaker of the honourable House of Commons, was sent off by express from this place, accompanied with a letter to BERNARD WARD, Esq. Knight of the Shire for the County of Down, and ARTHUR UPTON, Esq. member of Parliament for the Corporation of Carrickfergus, who were prayed to present the said address in a gold box prepared for the purpose, with the following inscription :—

• ———HONESTUM PRÆTULIT UTILI, ET
REJECIT ALTO DONA NOCENTIUM
VULTU, ET PER OBSTANTES CATERVAS
EXPLICUIT SUA VICTOR ARMA.

HENRICO BOYLE.

M.DCC.L.III.

L. M. D. C. Q.

POPULUS BELFASTIENSIS.

Which Address was by them accordingly presented on Tuesday, the 8th of this inst. and most graciously received. The Letter and Address are as follows, viz.

To BERNARD WARD, Esq. Knight of the Shire for the County of Down, and ARTHUR UPTON, Esq. Member of Parliament for the Corporation of Carrickfergus.

GENTLEMEN.—True worth, wherever it appears, commands the approbation of all honest minds; when ourselves have been the subjects of

• With innate virtue arm'd, his gen'rous heart
Prefers the honest, to the gainful part;
With just disdain rejects the guilty bribe,
And scorns the maxims of a venal tribe;
High in superior worth, triumphant goes
Through crowds of impotently raging foes.

its activity, a sense of obligation is added, prompting us to acknowledgments. This holds even in the trivial concerns of life, but most strongly in the most important. No wonder, then, if we are pleased with an opportunity of returning you, Gentlemen, our hearty thanks, for your exemplary virtue in supporting our invaluable privileges as freemen. The satisfaction we felt on observing it, could have been heightened by nothing but the pleasure of surprise; that indeed was wanting, for your conduct has been such as we expected.

We flatter ourselves, Gentlemen, that in honouring us by presenting our Address to the Speaker, you will yourselves be honoured; it is true, as representatives of very numerous and respectable bodies of the neighbouring people, you naturally, in our particular situation, offered yourselves to our thoughts upon this occasion; yet nothing could have prevailed upon us, who feel ourselves independent, to have thus distinguished you, had you not first, by a steady and uniform adherence to your duty, distinguished yourselves; and surely no badge of honour can contend in dignity with the public applause of the free and uninfluenced.

You will readily perceive, Gentlemen, that the freedom of this Corporation could not with any propriety have accompanied these explicit declarations of our unfeigned sentiments; an ordinary compliment in the power of an individual, must be considered as of too little consequence, to come in aid of general Tributes of praise, paid to uncommon merit; but this is not all: Since an absurd and gross abuse of that power in a late instance, it could not possibly, in any degree, have co-operated with the intention of this Letter and Address; which was to do Honour to ourselves, and as far as we could, to those upright patriots, who, in contempt of all inferior considerations, have, with signal constancy, defended the rights and privileges of this kingdom.

We are, Gentlemen,

With the greatest Respect,

Your most obliged,

Most devoted humble Servants,

THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT INHABITANTS
OF THE TOWN OF BELFAST.

Signed by Order, at a Public Meeting at the Market House of
Belfast, February 1st, 1754.

JOHN GORDON.

Address to the Right Honourable HENRY BOYLE, Esq. Speaker of the honourable House of Commons.

SIR.—We the Free and Independent Inhabitants of the town of Belfast, having a grateful sense of the inestimable blessings we enjoy in a land of freedom, cannot, without the utmost indignation, reflect on the malignant conduct of some persons, who, to cover their own selfish and pernicious schemes, have endeavoured to represent those upright patriots, who have steadily opposed any alteration in that Constitution from which we derive all our happiness, as seditious and ungrateful to the best of princes.

As the excellence of our legal and truly admirable constitution chiefly consists in the due distribution of power to every branch of the legislature, which forms that glorious political balance, not to be found in any other government, it is evident that the least infringement of the rights and privileges of any part, must necessarily tend to the destruction of the whole. To rule over a nation of freemen, and to preserve all their rights and privileges inviolable, is the peculiar glory and true interest of a British monarch. To support the just prerogative of the crown, and to defend the rights of every part of the legislature from any encroachment, is a duty which every freeman, and more especially every representative of the people, equally owes to his sovereign and to his country.

As these are our real and unfeigned sentiments, we rejoice that we live under the paternal care of a Prince, who has been uniformly actuated by the same principles, and who has given all his subjects in general, and particularly all his subjects in Ireland, the most convincing proofs that their happiness is the great end of his mild and righteous government. We also rejoice that we yet have a great number of true friends to the liberty of their country, whom neither promises nor threats can ever bend to betray the trust and confidence reposed in them by their constituents; who know that the interest of their King and of their country, is, and must ever be, inseparable; and who despise the ignorance, and detest the malice, of those who attempt to disunite them.

The incorruptible fidelity, and inflexible steadiness, which you, Sir, have shewn in pursuing the true interest of your country, demand our particular and public acknowledgements. Warm with gratitude, we return you our most sincere and hearty thanks, for your unalterable zeal for the true dignity of the crown, and the liberty and happiness of this nation. Go on, Sir, steadily in that noble course of virtue which you have so successfully pursued; and, though we know not what other consequences may attend your distinguished patriotism, yet of this we are certain, that you will receive a reward, which we are convinced you

will esteem far above all others, the applause of your own mind, and the reverence and gratitude of every true friend and lover of his country.

John Gordon	John Fivey	William Stewart
Thomas Drennan	Charles Cunningham	John Holmes
Clotworthy Bawa	James Hamilton	William Haven
Edward Caddell	Thomas Sinclair	Stephen Seed
Rich. Brown Bamber	James Gregg	William Wilson
Robert Wallace	Stephen Haven	John Rainey
David Lyons	James Blow	William Birt
Gilbert Kennedy	Daniel Blow	John Holmes
James Ferguson	John Ross	James Burgess
Francis Hamilton	Robert Armstrong	James Archibald
Thomas Gregg	William Gregg, Jun.	John Clarke
Hugh Donaldson	James Lewis	David Read
William Stafford	John Stewart	John Boyd
John Campbell	Alexander Haliday	John Johnston
Gilbert Orr	Joseph Wallace	John Moor
Samuel M ^c Tier	Donald M ^c Neil	David Smith
John Ross	George Barclay	John Mathers
Robert M ^c Kewn	John Ballantine	James Chambers
Hugh Johnston	James M ^c Waters	Hugh M ^c Ilwrath
William Laird	James Crawford	Charles Hamilton
Thomas Bateson	John Carson	James Thompson
James Adair	John Hay	William Lyons
Samuel Smith	John Campbell	Henry M ^c Kedy
William Holmes	John Brown	Alex. Montgomery
Robert Wilson	John Mattear	Francis Stewart
James Hamilton	James Trail	William Arthur
William Gamble	Samuel Stewart	John Shaw
James Ross	Benjamin Legg	St John Smith
John Galt Smith	George Duncan	Jasper Curry
John Callwell	Rigby Dobbin	William Sharp
John Hyde	John Potts	Robert Simm's
James Patterson	John Henderson	Hugh M ^c Master
William Holmes	James Getty	Robert Callwell
Arthur Mattear	Thomas Whiteside	Thomas Sitlington
Samuel Hyde	John Matthews	William Maxwell
Arthur Bunth	Daniel M ^c Cornick	John Macombe
James Park	William Sinclair	John Bradshaw
George Ferguson	John Dyat	Samuel Edmond
James Henderson	Henry Kelso	Edward Harris
George Black	Charles Gain	Thomas M ^c Lewain
John Clarke	Lewis Jones	David Archibald
John Petticrew	Brice Smith	

 TO THE ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Belfast, September 10th 1754.

On Thursday last the first general meeting of the PATRIOT CLUB of the County of Antrim was held at the market-house of this town,—ARTHUR UPTON Esq. in the chair:

At which a great many gentlemen were present, who met together with the warmest loyalty and affection to his Majesty and the illustrious House of Hanover, and the most sincere zeal for the liberty and true interest of the country,—

Determined, To testify their gratitude by every constitutional means in their power, towards those glorious Patriots who so resolutely vindicated the essential rights of their country in the proceedings of last session :

Determined, To cherish and render still more universal that truly loyal and liberal spirit, in virtue of which this nation received so great a deliverance :

Determined, To oppose upon all future occasions, all such as have concurred in measures inconsistent with the true interest of their country, and equally to support, upon every occasion, the prerogatives of the Crown and rights of the People in our happy Constitution ever inseparable.

The following toasts were drank : The King, the Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family, the Duke* and the Army, the Glorious and Immortal memory of King William, the 17th of December 1753,† Prosperity to Ireland, the 1st of July 1690, the Glorious 1st of August 1714, the 16th of April 1746, the Speaker, Lord Kildare, the late Master‡ of

* The Duke of Cumberland, who routed the Pretender's forces at Culloden, the 16th of April, 1746.

† The day on which the altered Money-bills was rejected by the Irish House of Commons.

‡ All distinguished opponents of the Money-bill.

The Rolls,—The nine Gores,—The four Malones,—The Linen Manufacture,—The Patriot Clubs of Ireland,—May the spirit of the 124 Patriots be always the distinguished spirit of the House of Commons,—May our free and happy constitution be transmitted entire to our latest posterity,—That the freeholders and freemen of Ireland may ever exert their constitutional Right of judging of the conduct of their Representatives,—That no Ecclesiastic may ever attempt to dictate to the House of Commons,—Disappointment to those that would build their fortunes on their country's ruin,—That Great-Britain and Ireland may ever be united in affection as they are in interest,—The friends of Ireland in the British Parliament,—May no station protect any man who would set the interest of the King and People at variance,—May the People ever distinguish between the ambitious views of a Minister and the true interest of the crown,—That his Majesty's virtues may descend with his crown to the latest posterity. I am, &c.

1755.—A Patriot Club of the county of Antrim had for some time been instituted, but on what occasion I have as yet been unable to discover. On the 16th of April, this year, a general meeting was held at the market-house of Belfast, Arthur Upton, Esq. in the chair, at which fifty-eight members were present. On this occasion, the usual toasts, breathing the true spirit of liberty, were drank. A similar club appears to have been established in the county of Down.

Sept. 2, 1756.—A general meeting of the Patriot Club of the county of Antrim was held at Carrickfergus, A. Upton Esq. in the chair, when a plan of association was formed and subscribed by forty-two members present; in which, after declaring their readiness to defend the King and Constitution, they resolve that "as

the *experience of all ages* has made it evident, that the liberty, and consequently the happiness of a free state, cannot possibly be long preserved by any other means than its own internal strength, resulting from the health, vigour, and integrity of every branch of its constitution; we declare ourselves thoroughly convinced, that it is the indispensable duty of every true friend of this county, never to remit a *strict watchfulness* over those to whom the guardianship of our liberties are in a particular manner entrusted; and this constant care and watchfulness being peculiarly necessary in seasons of public danger, when mismanagement, through defect of honesty or abilities, must be attended with the most fatal effects. We hereby promise and engage, that as we will with our utmost might oppose the sordid and pernicious schemes of *the selfish, the treacherous, and the corrupt*, so we will give, as far as we are able, all constitutional support to those faithful representatives of the people, who, unshaken by the late detestable defection, and by all the arts and power which effected it, and were exerted to render it still more general and diffusive, shall steadily persevere, in these times of great and complicated danger, in inflexibly opposing all measures tending to infringe the *sacred Rights of the People*, by subjecting them in an undue degree to the power and influence of ministerial cabals, and to sap the basis of our security and happiness, by violating that matchless constitution which our ancestors established by their blood."

November 25.—At a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the town, an association for suppressing RIOTS, and effectually protecting all farmers bringing in grain, &c. into the markets, and other dealers in provisions, was unanimously agreed to. On the Saturday following, another town-meeting was held at the market-house, at which it was resolved, that to render the "above-mentioned association immediately effectual

for the purpose it is intended to answer, eighteen members of it, with a captain, a sergeant, and drummer, be directly appointed by the sovereign to mount an armed guard at the market-house, and that the drum of the guard beating to arms shall be the signal for calling the whole associated body together." On Sunday night, one of the persons concerned in the riots alluded to was apprehended and confined; but on the following day, information being received that the rioters were assembling to rescue the prisoner, the alarm drum was beat, and in less than half an hour, 200 of the principal inhabitants appeared in arms, and an order being signed by the sovereign and another justice of the peace, they marched under the command of Stewart Banks, Esq. captain of the guard, through the principal streets and suburbs of the town, and searched the houses of several of the ringleaders of the late riots, against whom examinations had been lodged.

December 8.—A general meeting of the *associated* inhabitants was held, at which it was resolved to offer a reward of five pounds for the apprehension of each of the principal ringleaders in the late riots.

December 16.—A numerous meeting of the principal gentlemen of Belfast was held at the market-house, and a scheme for the relief of the poor was approved of. The following gentlemen were appointed overseers of the poor:—

Rev. Mr Saurin	William Wallace, Jun.
— Mr Drennan	Val. Jones
— Mr Kennedy	Stephen Haven
— Mr Laird	James Adair
— Mr M'Cay	John Hyde
Messrs Stewart Banks	Doctor Haliday
— Samuel M'Dier	James Hamilton
— James Getty	Hugh Donaldson
— Samuel Smith	John Clark
— Gilbert Orr	George Ferguson

Dec. 17.—Pursuant to adjournment, a general meeting of the Patriot Club of the County of Antrim, was held at Belfast, Bernard Ward, Esq. in the chair, when the following toasts were drank :—The King,—The glorious memory of King William,—The Patriot Clubs of Ireland,—May the Patriots of Ireland never suspend their vigilance and activity under any administration,—A speedy depression to any family which has been made dangerously great at the expence of this county—Increase of honour and confidence to those who remain firm and inflexible in times of defection,—A revival to that public spirit which is necessary for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of the county,—Memory of John Hampden,—of Lord Russel and the Exclusioners,—of the incorruptible Andrew Marvel, &c. &c.

1757, June 1.—The first census of the population of Belfast was taken this year. By this account it appears to have contained 1779 houses, containing 7993 Protestants, and 556 Romanists. Total 8549. Of these 1800 were able to bear arms. The number of looms was 399.

April 16.—A meeting of the Patriot Club of the County of Antrim was held in town, and another meeting on the 1st of August, at which the usual sentiments in favour of liberty were expressed and drank.—May the freemen of Ireland ever exert their *constitutional right* of judging of the conduct of their representatives ;—A speedy stop to luxury and corruption, which if allowed to increase, must inevitably destroy the liberty and happiness of these nations ;—May the loyal Protestants of Ireland have it in their power, by being *properly armed*, and disciplined, to defend his Majesty's and *their rights* and possessions against *all invaders*.

September 29.—Stewart Banks, Esq. was sworn sovereign of this borough. Immediately after, his company of volunteers

received him under arms; when three of their number, deputed by the rest, presented him with a fine sword, with a gold tassel and scarlet silk belt, on which were wrought in gold twist the following words:—"THE COMPLIMENT OF THE YOUNG VOLUNTEER COMPANY OF BELFAST TO STEWART BANKS, ESQ. THEIR CAPTAIN, SEPT. 29, 1757." In their address they declare, that they had at first made choice of him for their captain, "from regard to the *public spirit* which he discovered on many occasions," and return him thanks "for his distinguished and zealous attention to the honour of their association, and his care to have his Company properly disciplined and trained to the use of arms, that they may be of *real and effectual service when there may be occasion*, so that they can boast, that through his uncommon care and diligence they are every way in as flourishing a condition as any company in the kingdom."

Dec. 17.—The Patriot Club of the County of Antrim met at the Donegall Arms; James Adair, Esq. in the chair. The following toasts were drank: May a speedy establishment of an effectual *Militia* in these kingdoms prove the bulwark of our liberties against danger of every kind.—The Linen Trade, and may that source of our independency never become an *engine* of subjection.—May we never see an *ecclesiastic* in the government of Ireland, nor a *suspected Protestant* in the privy council.—May our state undertakers never accomplish that gainful job, the interment of *parliamentary independency*.—May insolence never pass for cunning, nor servility to ministers for due respect to the throne.—May *seats in parliament* become less desirable for lovers of themselves, and more so for lovers of their country.—May those who voted against unmerited pensions, never take them, and those who did not, never have it in their power.—Better cultivation to the *heirs*, as well as the

estates, of the great ones of Ireland.—May the people of *Hannover* and *Hesse* be able to recover their own country, but never have it in their power to *defend* ours.—The glorious memory of King William.—The first of July 1690, &c. &c.

1758.—The first Rope-walk company was established this year, by Capt. John M'Cracken,—whose death is recorded to have happened on the 20th of December, 1803.

1760.—The French had long meditated an invasion of this country, but their plans were completely defeated by the skill and bravery of Lord Hawke. The little squadron of Thurot reached the Irish coast, and on Thursday the 21st of February 1760 entered the bay of Carrickfergus; it consisted of three frigates only, with about 600 men. Thurot, in a council of war, advised, that without attending to Carrickfergus they should sail up to Belfast, but M. de Flobert, who was at the head of the whole embarkation, differed from his colleague, and insisted, that to leave behind them such a *fortified* place as Carrickfergus (an old half-dismantled castle) would be against all military rules and precedents. To these arguments Thurot at length gave way, and thus was Belfast saved from complete plunder.

On the following day, after the surrender of Carrickfergus, the French sent up one of their officers with a flag of Truce and a letter to the Sovereign (of Belfast,) in these terms:—“Send us 80 hogsheads of Wine; 40 of brandy, 60 barrels of Beer, 6000 lb of Bread, and 60 Bullocks; if you don't do this immediately, we intend burning Carrickfergus, afterwards to proceed to Belfast, and behave there in a similar manner.”

With this request the inhabitants thought it prudent to comply, and part of the requisition was immediately sent off, but the weather being tempestuous, the lighter could not sail down the lough on that day.

Saturday.—This morning a flag of Truce was dispatched from this town to the commander of the French forces at Carrickfergus, acquainting him of the reason why the provisions stipulated were not sent down ; and that the same, being shipped on board the two lighters, would sail with the evening tide if possible. In the afternoon one of the lighters with part of the provisions sailed, having been with no small difficulty manned, from a general reluctance the people conceived of supplying the enemy : but in her passage down, she was brought to, and stopped by a tender in the road.

This day men under arms continued to arrive, and at night the whole amounted at least to 8000. An éntrenchment commenced yesterday near the Mile-Water-Bridge, was finished this day, and planted with some small ship cannon.

About 9 o'clock at night a messenger arrived from Carrickfergus, with a letter to the Sovereign from Mr Fullerton, Dissenting Minister of that town, (by whom the flag of Truce was carried down from hence this morning,) giving notice, that the French, observing the provisions were stopped, had seized him, and swore that if the provisions were not sent on board by 8 o'clock they next morning, they would hang him, put to the sword the inhabitants of the town, reduce the town itself to ashes, and then march to Belfast. To avert, if possible, the execution of these threats, early on the following morning 8 or 10 carts were sent off laden with provisions ; but only two were suffered to proceed, the rest being stopped at the extremity of the town, by a party of armed men : however, about the same time, the master of the tender gave permission to the lighter to proceed to her destination.

On this day and the following Sunday, the troops collected in Belfast, marched six miles down the shore, and remained

there till night ; but the enemy kept close within the walls and made preparations to embark, and on Thursday they embarked and took their departure.

M. Thurot, as a Gentleman of Belfast writes to his friend in Limerick, was highly provoked at missing his prey, the town of Belfast, which he declared he would have obliged to pay £50,000, besides provisions, and swore by the holy Trinity, he would have most of the land officers broke as soon as they got to France, for not agreeing with his opinion, to land within four miles of the town, and march up directly to it ; by which means they lost so rich a prize, for the town of Carrickfergus was not worth sixpence. *

During the stay of those irregular forces in Belfast, Lord Charlemont arrived, and found the town as well defended as the time and circumstances would permit. "The appearance of the peasantry, who had thronged to its defence, many of whom were my own tenants, was singular and formidable. They were drawn up in regular bodies, each with its own chosen officers, and formed in martial array ; some few with old firelocks, but the greater number armed with what is called in Scotland the Lochaber axe, a scythe fixed longitudinally to the end of a long pole,—a desperate weapon, and which they would have made a desperate use of. Thousands were assembled in a small circuit ; but these thousands were so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of regularity, that the crowd was perfectly undisturbed by tumult, by riot, or even by drunkenness." †

* *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, 1760, from whence the above particulars are taken.

† *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, Lond. 1812, Vol. 1. p. 112.

List of the Volunteer Companies and Militia that marched to Belfast to oppose the French: set down in the order of time in which each respective Corps arrived, from Friday the 22d, to Tuesday the 26th of February, 1760.—Those marked thus (†) did not accept of pay from the town of Belfast.

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

- (†) Antrim Volunteers.—Lieutenant James Finiston commandant; 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, and 2 drums, marched into Belfast on Friday evening; all uniformly clothed and completely armed, with 25 rounds of cartridges 96
- (†) Lisburn Volunteers.—Edward Smith, Esq. captain (who being at Parliament,) Lieutenant Abraham Crommelin commandant, received the French prisoners on Thursday evening (being then under arms ready to march to Belfast,) guarded them all night, went off with them on Friday morning to Moira and Dromore, and came to Belfast about five the same evening, after a march of 21 miles . . . 130
- (†) Killulta Volunteers.—Arrived in several parties at different times, and incorporated with Lisburn company on Saturday (these and Lisburn company were Lord Hertford's tenants:) 68 received pay . . . 198
- Templepatrick Volunteers.—Arthur Upton, Esq. captain (who being at parliament,) Henry Shaw, Esq. first lieutenant, commandant, arrived on Saturday, at nine in the morning, and continued till the French sailed 70
- Shane's-Castle Volunteers.—Charles O'Neill, Esq. captain (who being at parliament,) Kennedy Henderson, Esq. first lieutenant, commandant, arrived on Saturday night, well armed, with 9 rounds of cartridges, and followed next day by 7 pieces of small cannon from Shane's-Castle, which were planted on the breast-work at Mile-Water 94
- (†) Carrickfergus.—Mr James M'Ilwean, captain, 40; and Carnmoney.—Mr Henry Langford Burleigh, captain, 55, guarded the French prisoners from that town to Belfast; arrived in Belfast early in the morning after the French landed 95
- (†) Killead.—Roger Moore, Esq. captain, arrived on Friday, all armed . . . 40
- In and near Antrim.—Mr Thomas Thompson, captain, Volunteers formed on the occasion (of which 81 armed,) arrived on Saturday: but one half received pay 133
- Ballymena, two Companies.—Hugh Campbell and Blainy Adair, captains, arrived on Saturday; and on Tuesday a party of them were sent down the water, to reinforce Captain Dingey, where they remained until the French sailed 108
- Broughshane, Mr John White, captain, arrived on Saturday night; nine of them with scythes fixed on poles 42

(†) Ballymoney, Charles O'Hara, Esq. captain (received pay but for 30 men,) arrived on Sunday, at two o'clock in the afternoon, after a march of 38 miles in 24 hours. Mr O'Hara could have marched 500 brave men had there been arms for them	76
Ballymoney.—John Henry, Esq. captain, arrived on Monday	60
Donegall.—Rev. Patrick Bennett, captain, arrived on Sunday	28
(†) Ballycastle Volunteers.—Hugh Boyd, Esq. colonel, commandant, arrived on Monday, all armed; and were afterwards joined by upwards of 150 more, in several parties	200
Rasharkin.—John Rowan, Esq. captain, arrived on Tuesday	75
(†) Belfast town, three companies.—James Ross, Esq. 89; Stewart Banks, Esq. 189; and Mr John Brown, 98, marched to Three-Mile-Water on Saturday morning, as did all the companies that were then arrived	369

The Corps that assembled at Ballakill one mile and a-half north-east of Carrickfergus, under the care and direction of Robert Dalway, Esq.

Islernagee, Rahoo, Glen, Templecorran, Kiltroot, Ballahill, and Carrickfergus Liberties.—Marriot Dalway, Esq. captain:—Rev. James Dunbar, Mr Patrick Allen, and Mr Edward Hudson, lieutenants; assembled on Friday, &c. most part well armed; and part of Lord Antrim's regiment	200
Larne.—Adam Johnston, Esq. captain:—Mr James Agnew and Mr James Blair, lieutenants, arrived at Ballahill on Friday	115
Glenarm.—James Myers, Esq. captain:—Mr John Mitchell, and Mr William Higginson, lieutenants, and the Rev. Thomas Reed, ensign, arrived at Ballahill on Sunday, all in good uniform, and well armed; with three pieces of cannon mounted on carriages	120
TOTAL, COUNTY OF ANTRIM	2249

COUNTY OF DOWN.

Lord Hillsborough's Regiment.

(†) Purdy's-Burn.—James Willson (for his father, Hill Willson, Esq., appointed paymaster to the King's forces on that occasion,) captain:—Alexander Legg and Thomas Stewart, Esqrs. lieutenants; arrived in Belfast on Friday morning, well armed, being the first considerable body that came in; entered forthwith on duty, and continued so until the French sailed	195
Castlereagh.—Thomas Pottinger, Esq. captain, arrived on Friday forenoon	80
Hillsborough.—Lieutenant Daniel Hull, commandant, arrived on Friday evening, at four o'clock	184

Lord Rawdon's Regiment, under his Lordship's command.

Mairs.—His Lordship's company, 95, and John Stothard Esqrs, 40, arrived on Friday forenoon	135
Dremore, two companies.—Coalet Stothard, and James Waddell, captains, guarded the French prisoners to Banbridge, and arrived in Belfast on Saturday; sixty of these armed with back swords and pikes	183
Gilford.—Acheson Johnston Esq. captain, arrived on Saturday morn- ing, only one half had guns	90
Waringstown.—Samuel Waring, Esq. captain, arrived on Sunday	60
Magheralin.—Charles Douglas Esq. captain, arrived on Sunday	30

Bernard Ward Esq's Regiment: in his absence (being at parliament,) John Echlin Esq. lieutenant-colonel, commandant.

From Downpatrick, Castleward, Bangor, Newtown, the Ards, Lecale, and Gillhall.—Henry Waring, Charles Echlin, Steele Hawthorne, David Caddell, and John Magill, Esqrs, captains; these, with the 'Neutenants and ensigns of each respective company, arrived on Saturday	330
Waringford.—A Company joined said Regiment; arrived same day	80

James Stevenson, Esq's Regiment.

Killileagh.—In his absence (he being at parliament,) Robert Black- wood, Esq. lieutenant-colonel, commandant, arrived on Saturday	167
Camber and Ballybeen.—Robert Gillespie, James Patterson, and Ro- bert Kyle, captains: these three companies arrived on Friday forenoon	135
Camber.—John White, captain, arrived on Saturday	47
Seaford.—Matthew Forde, Esq. colonel, commandant, arrived same day	144
Saintfield.—Henry Savage, Esq. lieutenant, arrived same day	80
Ards Regiment.—Francis Savage, Esq. colonel, commandant, arrived on Monday at noon, divided into three companies, raised at Portà- erry, Greyabbey, and Ballywalter; and same day marched to Bangor to guard the coast	220
Newtown.—Arthur Kennedy, Esq. captain, arrived on Friday forenoon	85
Hollywood.—James Hamilton, Esq. captain, arrived same day at two in the afternoon	80
Donaghadee Volunteers.—Hugh Boyd, Esq. captain, arrived on Sa- turday; and on Monday marched with several other companies to guard the coast between Hollywood and Donaghadee	138

Downpatrick, three companies Volunteers.—John Trotter, Charles Johnston, and William Hamilton, Esqrs. captains, arrived on Saturday	130
(†) Newry Volunteers.—Captain Thomas Braddock, arrived same morning, on horseback	30
TOTAL, COUNTY OF DOW	<hr/> 2578

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

Lurgan Volunteer troop of Dragoons.—William Brownlow, Esq. captain, who left Dublin on the first advice, and put himself at their head on Tuesday, received an account at ten o'clock on Thursday night of the French being landed; marched off a quarter after twelve, and arrived at eleven on Friday forenoon, under the command of James Forde, Esq. first lieutenant	140
Lylo Volunteers.—William Robinson, Esq. captain, arrived on Saturday morning	70
Rich-Hill Volunteers, Thomas Roe, Esq. captain, arrived on Sunday, on horseback	114
(†) Armagh Volunteers.—Thomas M'Cann, Esq. (as sovereign of Armagh,) captain, set out from Armagh on Saturday evening, on horseback, all armed, and arrived in Belfast on Sunday morning at ten o'clock	100
(†) Tandragee.—Samuel Blacker, Esq. captain (in whose absence, being in Dublin,) Rev. George Cherry, lieutenant, commandant, marched on Saturday morning, and arrived at Belfast on Sunday morning, led all the way by Mr Cherry, on foot, after a march of twenty-five miles	101
TOTAL, COUNTY OF ARMAGH	<hr/> 562

(Total of the three Counties, 5352.)

1766, February 5.—Address of the inhabitants of Belfast to the Lord Lieutenant, on the Bill for prohibiting the exportation of Corn:

"To his Excellency Francis Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

WE the Merchants and principal inhabitants of the Town of Belfast in the County of Antrim, humbly beg leave to approach your Excellency, with a tender of our grateful and unfeigned thanks, for your great readiness in promoting and expediting every public measure for the benefit and advantage of this kingdom and in articular for dispatching the bill to

prohibit the exportation of Corn for a limited time, so well calculated to relieve our apprehensions of scarcity: And well knowing from this instance, among many others, your tender concern to relieve the distresses of the poor; we beg leave just to mention to your Excellency, that if the duty payable on Wheat and Flour imported into this kingdom was taken off, at this time of dearth, and when quantities are daily expected to arrive from *America*, these commodities could be afforded so much the cheaper to the poor consumers.

Your Excellency's great goodness in these particulars, must render your name and administration ever dear to this country."

1770.—" TO THE COMMITTEE for conducting the *FREE-PRESS*,
IN DUBLIN.

BELFAST, April 20.

WEDNESDAY last being the day when Ministerial oppression was to find itself, in some measure, controuled and limited by law, in the case of JOHN WILKES, Esq. Member for Middlesex, many Assemblies of Gentlemen were held in this Town and Neighbourhood on the Occasion.

At a numerous and respectable meeting, at the *Donegall Arms*, the following Toasts were drank:

The King and the People.—The Queen and Royal Family. Long Life and increasing vigour to the Constitution; speedy Reformation or Destruction to those who would injure it.—Wisdom and Justice to our Rulers; Freedom and Prosperity to the whole British Empire.—The Petitioners of England.—The Remonstrants of England.—More Remonstrances and less need of them.—The Minority of the British Parliament. The Majority of the Irish house of Commons. Quick Dissolution to the British, a speedy dissolution to the Irish Parliament. The Protesting Lords. The Freeholders of Middlesex. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and livery of London. A speedy and total change of ministry and measures. May the minister, who so tamely and ingloriously suffered the gallant Corsicans to be enslaved; never again be trusted by the, yet, free People of England.—The 15th

of June 1215.—The Bill of Rights and its Supporters.—The glorious and immortal Memory of King William.—The Revolution of 1688, and may we never need another.—The 1st of August 1714.—The 16th of April 1796 and the Memory of the Duke of Cumberland.—The Memory of Old Steady.—The Memory of King George the Second.—The Wooden Walls of England.—Increase of Spirit, of Liberty; and Importance to the People of Ireland.—The 16th of February 1768.—The American Colonies, and may the Descendants of those who fled from Tyranny in one Country, never be forced to submit to its galling Yoke in another.—The Memory of John Hampden.—The Memory of Algernon Sidney.—The Memory of Lord Russell and the Exclusioners.—The Memory of the Middlesex Jury, who presented the Duke of York as a Papist, when his Brother sat on the Throne.—May the 30th of January, 1649, * be held in perpetual Remembrance.—A more equal Representation to the People of Great Britain and Ireland.—Short Parliaments without Placemen or Pensioners. Disgrace and Punishment to those who advised the Dismissal of the first and greatest Ornament of the Law, for his inflexible Integrity.—JUNIUS.—May every Minister, who despises the honest Voice, and neglects the just Complaints of the People, be warned by the Example, or meet the Fate, of Lord Strafford.—May the sacred elective Rights of the People ever be preserved, and no Attempt to violate them escape with Impunity.—As Britain hath ever disdained to submit to the Tyranny of one, may she successfully resist the still more odious tyranny of Many.—May the persecuted Prisoner † soon exchange the King's for the People's Bench.—Health and Honour to the Man, whose Firmness hath stood the Shock of

* See p. 27 of these Collections.

† John Wilkes.

Power, and trampled general warrants under Foot.—May the Gentlemen of the Army imitate the truly noble Commander in Chief; and ever remember that the only constitutional Meaning of the Good of the Service, must be the Good of the Community.—May Oppression never be carried so far, as to make it necessary for the People to resume the Powers delegated to the Magistrate for their Good; but if it should, may their Efforts for the Restoration of Liberty, prove irresistible. All those who would rather die in Jack-boots, than live in wooden shoes.—Health and Joy to all who are celebrating this day.—Lord Donegall and the Town of Belfast.

This very Loyal Town, gave Birth to the Right Honourable Sir George Macartney, Knight of the illustrious Order of the White Eagle of Poland, principal Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Townshend, our most Gracious Lord Lieutenant, and Son-in-law to the Right Honourable and renowned John Earl of Bute, late private Preceptor to his Majesty.*

1771.—Belfast became, this year, the scene of an extraordinary riot, the immediate cause of which, produced in the end, effects extremely injurious to the interests of the North of Ireland. "An Estate in the County of Antrim a part of the vast possessions of the Marquis of Donegall (an absentee) was proposed when its leases had expired, to be let only to those who could pay large fines; and the agent of the Marquis was said to have exacted extravagant fees on his own account also. Numbers of the former tenants, neither able to pay the fines, nor the rents demanded by those who, on payment of fines, and fees, took leases over them, were dispossessed of their tenements, and left without means of subsistence. Rendered thus desperate, they maimed the cattle of those who had taken

* See *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin, 1770.

the lands, committed other outrages, and to express a firmness of resolution, styled themselves *Hearts of Steel*. One of their number, charged with felony, was apprehended and confined in Belfast, in order to be transmitted to the County goal.— Provided with offensive weapons, several thousands of peasants proceeded to the town to rescue the prisoner, who was removed to the barrack, and placed under a guard of Soldiers. Shortly after the Steel boys arrived, and pressed forward to the barrack, and several shots were actually exchanged between them and the Soldiers. The consequence in all probability, would have been fatal to many on both sides, and to the town; had not a physician of highly respectable character, and leading influence interposed, at the risk of his life, and prevailed with those concerned to set the prisoner at liberty.— Being delivered up to his associates, they marched off in triumph. One house only experienced the effects of their resentment; the effects of this insurrection which extended into the neighbouring counties proved highly prejudicial to the country. So great and wide was the discontent that many thousands of protestants emigrated from those parts of Ulster to America, where they soon appeared in arms against the British Government, and contributed powerfully, by their zeal and valour, to the separation of the American Colonies from the crown of Great Britain.*—*Further particulars relative to the above.* Monday December 24.—A Number of people entered the town of *Belfast*, to demand the release of one *David Douglas*, who had been apprehended on suspicion of maiming some cattle, belonging to Mr *Thomas Gregg*, which being refused, they set fire to Mr *Cunningham's* dwelling-house, and threatened to do the same to that of Mr *Gregg's*, but on the release of

* See *Crawford's Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. II.

the person they desisted; one man was killed in attempting to force into the barrack, where *Douglas* was confined. It is said, these people have been made desperate by being dispossessed of their holdings, where they and their families had long resided, many of whom are forced to betake themselves to the continent of *America*, where in a few years (by the numbers that leave this kingdom from like circumstances,) a rival may arise, that may lower the value of those very possessions they are driven from." *

1771.—This year the foundation of the Poor-house was laid.

1771-2. The astonishing extent to which emigration from the province of Ulster to America, was now carried, may be estimated from the following statement published in the *Belfast News-Letter* in 1773.—

"The Number of Ships, and their Tonnage, that sailed with Passengers from the North of Ireland for North-America in the last two Years; taken from the Advertisements published in the Paper, viz.

Ships	In 1771	Tonnage	Ships	In 1772	Tonnage
13	from Londonderry	3,650	9	—	2,650
7	Belfast —	1,750	10	—	2,650
9	Newry —	2,800	5	—	1,600
1	Portrush —	250	1	—	250
2	Larne —	450	5	—	1,800
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
32		8,900	30		8,450
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>

Total in 1771	32 Ships	8,900 Tons.
1772	30	8,450
<hr/>		<hr/>
62		17,350

N. B. It may be supposed on a moderate computation that the Number of Passengers were equal to the Tons.

The greatest part of these Emigrants paid their Passage, which at 3l. 10s. each, amounted to 60,725l.—most of them

* *Gent. and Lond. Magazine* 1771.

people employed in the Linen Manufacture, or farmers, and of some property, which they turned into Money and carried with them: In evidence of this, it was computed that one Ship, last year, had no less than 4,000*l.* in Specie on Board.

Their removal is sensibly felt in this Country. This prevalent humour of industrious Protestants withdrawing from this once flourishing corner of the Kingdom, seems to be increasing; and it is thought the Number will be considerably larger this Year, than ever:

The North of Ireland has been occasionally used to Emigration, for which the American Settlements have been much beholden: But, till now, it was chiefly the very meanest of the people that went off, mostly in the station of indented servants, and such as had become obnoxious to their mother country. In short, it is computed from many concurrent circumstances, that the North of Ireland has in the last five or six years been drained of one-fourth of its trading cash, and the like proportion of the Manufacturing people. Where the evil will end, remains only in the womb of time to determine."

1773.—The Number of Ships and their Tonnage, that sailed with Passengers from the North of Ireland for America, in the year 1773, taken from the advertisements:

Ships		Tonnage.	
13	from Belfast	-	3,400
8	Newry	-	2,550
14	L. Derry	-	4,050
4	Larne	-	1,300
<hr/> 39		<hr/> 11,300	

1774, March.—A petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the Town of Belfast, against a bill for removing the Assizes of the County of Antrim from the town of Carrickfergus to the town of Antrim.

April 15.—“On Friday last sailed from this port, for Newcastle and Philadelphia, the Prosperity, M'Culloch, Master, with upwards of 470 full Passengers, supposed to be equal to 520 souls.”

May 7.—The Church of this town (situated in the old church-yard High-street, on the site of the present Chapel of Ease,) was thrown down, and on Monday following the foundation of a new one, (in Donegall-street,) was begun to be sunk.

August 1.—ACCOUNT OF THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE INHABITANTS TO ROBERT STEWART, AND JAMES WILLSON, THE FORMER A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTY OF DOWN, (NOW MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY,) THE LATTER OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM :—

“On Monday last, being the first of August, the principal inhabitants of Belfast, as well those of the Church of England as of the Dissenting Interest, entertained at dinner Robert Stewart and James Willson Esqrs. (Arthur Johnston and John Blackwood, Esqrs. who had likewise been invited being prevented from attending by very necessary business,) in testimony of their high and grateful sense of the parliamentary conduct of those Gentlemen ; and in particular of their spirited defence of those constitutional and inherent rights of Protestants of every denomination, which have sustained a temporary injury, by the late ill-timed and inconsiderate Act for the Repairs of Churches ;—the dinner was splendid, and the company numerous, not fewer than an hundred ;—the day was spent with the most cordial harmony, and with that cheerfulness and festivity, which a confidence of their being soon relieved from this unprovoked grievance, by the wisdom and justice of the legislature, naturally inspired. After dinner the following toasts were drank :—

Health and long life to Mr Stewart, and thanks for his company.—Health and long life to Mr Willson, and thanks for his company.—The King, Constitution, and real friends of both. The Queen, Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.—Prosperity to Ireland.—The glorious and immortal memory of King William.—The revolution of 1688, and may we never need another.—The glorious 1st of August, and may we long have reason to rejoice on that day.—The memory of that wise and consistent Protestant, and true friend to a liberal toleration, King George the First.—The memory of King George the Second,—and may his decendants, through a long line, be commemorated as the guardians of that *liberty* the family was *called in to support*—The 15th of June 1215, and perpetuity to Magna Charta.—The Protestant interest all the world over.—Perpetual harmony to Protestants of all denominations; repentance and contrition to those who attempt to break it.—May those who are equally the friends of the constitution, equally enjoy the benefits of it.—Religion without Priestcraft.—Success to the petitioning clergy.—May no law ever pass the legislature without their conscious and considerate acquiescence.—Speedy repeal or amendment to all partial, unconstitutional acts.—May the Dissenters who exerted every nerve in support of the Hanover succession, never be depressed by the arm they so zealously helped to raise.—May the Dissenters who, by their distinguished share in bringing about the revolution, so nobly forfeited an illegal toleration from James the Second, never find their legal toleration invaded under Geo. the Third.—A farther progress to the Reformation.—May the rights of conscience be properly respected, that no man may suffer for exerting them.—The countenance and support of all honest men to those who sacrifice emoluments to the genuine

dictates of conscience.—May the 2000 ministers who embraced poverty, rather than violate their conscience, on the day of St Bartholomew 1662, be held in lasting and honourable remembrance.—The memory of Mr Locke.—The memory of Bishop Hoadly.—The memory of King Alfred.—The memory of Sir John Elliot.—The memory of John Hampden. The memory of John Pym.—The memory of Algernon Sydney.—The memory of Lord Russel and the Exclusioners.—The memory of Andrew Marvell.—A speedy revival of public virtue and public spirit.—Few placemen in parliament, and no pensioners.—The 16th of February 1768, and a further limitation to parliaments.—A good memory and suitable spirit to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland.—The liberty of the press, and a speedy repeal to the Stamp-Act.—May no reasonable cause be ever given to increase those discontents, which have already proved so ruinous and depopulating to this country.—Moderation to landlords, spirit and industry to tenants.—Lord Chatham.—Sir George Saville.—Wisdom and firmness to the American Assemblies, justice and moderation to the legislature of Britain, that their disputes may be happily settled.—Disappointment to those who cry out against tumults, yet would avail themselves of them to establish their very worst consequences, despotism.—May the tyranny and persecution the fathers fled from in Europe, never fasten on the sons in America.—All those who would rather die in jack-boots than live in wooden shoes.—Lord and Lady Donegall.—Sir Edward Newenham.—Counsellor Johnston.—John Blackwood Esq.—George Montgomery, Esq. of Cavan.—County of Down.—County of Antrim.—Town and trade of Belfast.—May his Majesty know his true friends, and unmask his pretended ones.”

1775, September.—America had now begun to stand forward in defence of her injured rights, which the *Belfast News-Letter* advocated with the most undaunted zeal and freedom. For this inflexible attachment to the cause of Liberty, was the News-Letter vilified by those who adhered to the opposite principles, as appears from the following paragraph.

“The following Rhymes, copied from the *Dublin Mercury* of the 26th ult published by James Hoey, a FOREIGN NEWS-PRINTER, are presented to our Readers for their amusement and animadversion.

On the accounts published in the Belfast Journal, relative to the present state of America.

The puritan-Journal, impress'd at Belfast,
Exhibits the printer's complexion and east :
Whose partial accounts of each public transaction
Proclaim him the infamous tool of a faction.
From worthy old Faulkner, to give him his due,
Nought issues, but what is authentic and true;
Each foreign report and domestic relation
Approv'd and admitted on good information.
But ***† the low scribe of a party quite frantic
With zeal for their brethren beyond the Atlantic,
Discreetly and piously chuses to tell
No tidings, but such as come posting from hell.
Thence furnished with news, it is easy to guess,
Why nothing but falsehoods proceed from his press ;
Of which he is sure to have constant supplies,
Who still corresponds with the father of lies.”

—November 4.—GENERAL MEETING OF THE INHABITANTS,
AND THEIR ADDRESS TO THE KING ON THE PRESENT STATE
OF AFFAIRS, AND THE RUPTURE WITH THE AMERICAN CO-
LONIES.

“ In consequence of an application from many respectable inhabitants of this town to George Black, Esq. sovereign of the

corporation, printed handbills were distributed yesterday, desiring a general meeting of the principal inhabitants at the town-house, to consider of an address or petition to his Majesty; which was accordingly held this day at noon, George Black, Esq. in the chair, when a motion was made and seconded, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty from the merchants, traders, and other principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, stating their grievances and apprehensions resulting from the present unnatural state of things: their concern, as members of the British empire, for its present disturbed and endangered state: their feelings, as men, for the horrors of civil war now raging in America: their hopes in the royal mercy for a speedy termination of these: and their prayers for a restoration of the *old constitutional* system. Which being agreed to without a dissenting voice, a suitable address was produced, and signed by almost every person present, and after such as were not present have had an opportunity of signing it, it is to be transmitted to his Majesty.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address and Petition of the Merchants, Traders, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Merchants, Traders, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast, implore your Majesty to lend an attentive and favourable ear to these, our humble, though earnest supplications.

Universally interested in the fate of Trade, we cannot but lament the decay of it already occasioned by the present unnatural state of things; limited and restrained as the commerce of this country is by the policy of the British Legislature, any obstruction in the few channels, which have been left open to your industry, must be sensibly felt, and cannot by any efforts of ours be compensated; the injury done to our staple manufacture, by the cessation of all intercourse with America; the danger with which the remains of it are threatened, we conceive to be truly grievous

and alarming :—in the next considerable branch of our exports we are likewise distressed, by the operation of the same ruinous cause ; and to look forward to the probable event of an unfruitful year, when we may be deprived of that support, which this country hath often derived from America, fills our minds with the most gloomy apprehensions.

But we must feel also as members of this *once flourishing empire*, for its present distracted and endangered state, we saw it towards the close of your illustrious grandfather's reign, and under the auspicious commencement of your Majesty's, raised to the summit of prosperity and of glory ; united within itself. Its magnitude and splendor awed the world. We now see its lustre obscured, and the mighty fabric rent to its foundations.

And we must deeply feel as men : as such, nothing can give us greater anguish of soul, than the horrors of civil war, now raging in one extensive part of your Majesty's dominions ; but we wish to avert our eyes from these, and raise them up to that Royal Benignity and Mercy, which we cannot but hope will yet interpose for the preservation of millions ; of millions, who have been threatened with destruction, and driven to extremities by sanguinary men, for the mere suspicion of political error ; and that in questions so involved and dubious, that many of the greatest names, many of the wisest and best men who have ever adorned these lands, together with large important communities of the people, are firm in their opinion, that the error is not chargeable on them ; with such we join in humbly and fervently imploring your Majesty to sheath in mercy the sword of civil war ; that a foundation may be laid for a speedy and happy restoration of that *old constitutional system*, under which Great Britain and her Colonies, united in affection as in interest, grew in strength, till they became the admiration and envy of other nations.

Remote as our situation is, inconsiderable as we may be deemed, we would not presume to approach the throne with these our fervent prayers, did not our old and acknowledged attachment to the free British Constitution, to the Protestant Religion, to the principles of the Revolution, to the illustrious House of Hanover, and to your Majesty's most sacred person and dignity, give us a distinction which we are proud of ; and embolden us, with hearts warmly and zealously devoted to the Constitution and to your Majesty, to lay ourselves at your feet ; praying, that you may be protected at all times, and in all things directed, by that Sovereign of the Universe, by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree justice.

November 9, 1775.

Thomas Gregg
Val. Jones
Wad. Cunningham
James Kenley

George Ferguson
James Magee
Henry Joy
James Getty

William Brown
Jesse Taylor
John Caldwell
Robert Stevenson

James Patterson
 James Ferguson
 James Crombie
 Henry M^cKedy
 John Robinson
 William Boyle
 William Beatty
 John Brown
 Samuel M^cTier
 William Irwine
 James Park
 William Laird
 William Anderson
 Charles Bride
 Charles Mitchell
 John M^cIlveen
 James Moor
 John Hamilton
 Alexander Orr
 John Galt Smith
 Alex. H. Haliday
 Hercules Heyland
 Thomas Stewart
 Francis Hamilton
 John G^geg
 Jas. Ferguson, jun.
 Charles Roberts
 John Campbell
 A. L. Ledgerwood
 Wm. Gregg, Jun.
 John Templeton
 Richard Seeds
 James Barnett
 Thomas Fletcher
 James Hamill
 William M^cBride
 James Hughes
 Valentine Joyce
 Hugh M^cIlwane
 James Crawford
 Alex. Stephenson
 David Thoburn
 William Wilson

William Ramsey
 John Bryson
 Robert Smith
 James Matthews
 John Brown
 Robert Jameson
 Samuel Brown
 Samuel Ashmore
 Patrick Gaw
 William Burgess
 Ro. Montgomery
 Edward M^cCormick
 Stewart Beatty
 Allen Searson
 Isaac Miller
 John Russell
 John Milford
 Matthew Garnet
 William Laird
 John Smyth
 Thomas Lyons
 Samuel Brown
 William Neill
 Henry Ingram
 Thomas Harper
 Hugh Montgomery
 Samuel Scott
 Thomas Johnston
 William Young
 Robert Knox
 William Eccles
 William Harrison
 Robert Wilson
 Holmes Ramsey
 John Scott
 James Grahams
 Thomas Lyle
 James Templeton
 John Carson
 James Stevenson
 Francis Hamilton
 James Carson
 Robert Smith

Alexander White
 John Henderson
 William Wilson
 William Douglas
 Peter Damay
 Joseph M^cCommen
 William Wilson
 Arch. Martin
 John Ewing
 John Mattear
 Robert Scott
 Thomas Ross
 William Seed M. D.
 James Sufferin
 John Montgomery
 William Blackwell
 Thomas M^cCabe
 John Sykes
 Joseph Wilson
 John Vaght
 Andrew Hyndman
 John Stewart
 Andrew Simms
 Gilbert M^cIlveen
 Francis Taggart
 John Kyle
 John Young
 John Barron
 David M^cTier
 John May
 James Dunn
 Robert Scott
 Alexander Ross
 Stephen Wilson
 William Holmes
 James Murray
 William Millford
 James Brown
 John Bashford
 David Logan
 Samuel Hyde
 Hugh Miller
 Samuel Robinson

Isaac Ramadge	David Manson	John Magee
Richard Martland	David Tomb	John Liviston
And. M'Clenaghan	James Patrick	David Park
John Holmes, Jun.	Thomas Jameson	George Wells
Alexander Brown	James M'Ilwrath	Nathaniel Graham
Hugh M'Master	Alex. Montgomery	Thomas Hamilton
Andrew Taylor	James Wilson	Robert Wallace
William Polluck	William Crawford	William Watson
Thomas Scott	Hugh Henderson	Andrew Hannah
John Wilson	James Bryson	Hugh Hathorn
John Spratt	James Boyle	Thomas M'Cadahn
James Eady	John Forcade	Robert Dinsmore
Daniel Blow	Matthew Donaldson	David Dinsmore
Francis Graham	Thomas Graham	John Mitchell
John Marshall	Henry Parkinson	John Getty
James Cunningham	John Stewart	Samuel Barr
George Ferguson	James Dunn	Robert M'Crea
John Bradshaw	Thomas Fitzpatrick	Archibald Scott
William Stevenson	James Haggis	John M'Kelvey
William Stewart	William Thompson	Robert Moor
John Luke	Samuel Stewart	James Mackey
Hugh Lyndon	Richard Armstrong	James Murphy
William Lyons	Jasper Curry	Rt. Watt M'Clure
Robert Simms	George M'Quoy	William Byrre
Robert Batt	John Gregg	Thomas Milleken
Robert Hyndman	John Carille	Robert Gordon
Robert M'Cleery	Hercules M'Comb	Upton Scott
Gawn M'Tier	George Mitchell	Bryce Smith
S. Trail Kennedy	John Kennedy	William M'Ilwrath
Robert M'Dowell	James Corry	James Montgomery
Ralph Tinsdell	William Beggs	John Harper
Alexander Jones	William Wills	William Craughton
Joseph Stevenson	Robert Douglass	Samuel Robinson
Robert Thomson	William Hilditch	Samuel Eddley
Thomas Sinclair		

ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

The canvas for a general election had now commenced, and the County of Antrim (in which *alone* the inhabitants of Belfast enjoy their rights, as electors) was summoned to delegate representatives to the new parliament. The candidates were

James Willson, H. Seymour Conway, John O'Neill, Hugh Skelington, and Marriot Dalway. The addresses of Mr Willson are here published entire, and the particular attention of the public is solicited to his sentiments, as they contain several most admirable suggestions for the restoration and preservation of the purity and independency of ELECTIONS.

TO THE
INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

"From a perfect assurance of your readiness to adopt any measure which may tend to preserve those rights and privileges which were purchased by the blood of your ancestors; but from the corruption of representatives, and credulity of electors, have been so dangerously encroached on, as to convince every discerning man, that without the intervention of some vigorous effort, the ruin of this *once happy kingdom* must be inevitable; I take the liberty to offer myself a candidate for the honour of representing your County in the next Parliament. And although my conduct in Parliament has, I hope, been such as to give me some claim to your confidence; yet, as we find from daily experience, that even the most extensive affluence is not sufficient to countervail *the insatiable power of ministerial seduction*, and that those to whom fortune has been most liberal in the dispensation of her favours, are often the very first to trample on the rights of the subject: In order to remove any possible doubt of the sincerity and disinterestedness of my views, and the real independence of my principles, I beg leave to propose the following TEST to your consideration, which I shall take on the day of election before the assembled County, with the Holy Evangelist in my hand.—A Test which can only be the result of a zealous anxiety for the interest of my country, and the fullest conviction that without a firm and virtuous exertion of the democratic part of our constitution, the electors of this kingdom will become the instruments of their own perdition, and representatives the slaves or minions of arbitrary power.

"I do solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God, that if I shall be so fortunate as to represent the County of Antrim in the ensuing Parliament, *I will not accept of any place, pension, title, or emolument under government, for myself or any other person; either by transference, reversion, or any other species of equivocal collusion, not only during the existence of the Parliament in which I now seek to represent you, but as long as I shall have the honour to be continued a representative of the County.*"

And with a design as far as it is in my power to restore the influence of the people to its original consequence and weight in the scale of legislation, and to give it that vigour to which it is entitled upon the principles of nature and our constitution, I submit to your judgment a short and easy method of collecting the sense of the whole County in one day. It is this :—As soon as I shall know of an intention to enact any new law, or to repeal or amend an old one, I shall, without loss of time, give public notice thereof to my constituents, by an advertisement in the Belfast News-Letter. Then let the ministers, or any other person in the several Protestant congregations in the County, on the Sunday following inform the congregations by advertisement or otherwise, of the design of the legislature, and desire a meeting of the freeholders on the first convenient day to give their opinion of the intended measure, which, when transmitted to me by post, *shall regulate my parliamentary conduct*. Thus I shall be fully informed of the real sense of the whole county ; and if there should be any considerable diversity of opinion (which can never probably happen on any point of constitutional importance) I shall endeavour to act the part of a conscientious umpire, according to the best of my abilities. If this mode should meet with your approbation, and I have success on my election, I do solemnly promise it shall be most faithfully observed on my part. Should I be so unfortunate as not to derive success from this application for the high trust and honour which I solicit, I shall yet be able to support my disappointment with the conscious satisfaction that I have sought your favour and protection from the purest motives of public virtue ; and that I have set before you, and the kingdom at large, the plainest and most effectual method of making the *people judges of their own happiness*, and of giving them a *proper power in the framing of those laws by which they are to be governed*. The baseness of parliamentary measures is often justly ascribed to the venality of electors, who are either too timid, or too sordid to return members who will represent the sense of the nation. This is the trying crisis of your virtue. *I have put it out of my power to misrepresent or deceive you*. You have the power, and I hope and am confident will have the resolution to enable me to render you and the whole kingdom the most essential services within the reach of a man who wishes only to obtain support from the honesty of his intention, and the approbation of a free people ; which that you may ever be, is the sincere wish of

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ JAMES WILLSON.”

Gillgorn, December 24. 1775.

TO THE
INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

GENTLEMEN,—From the most determined resolution to be uniformly consistent in the principles on which I ground my expectations of your support on the general election, I am induced to offer as an apology for omitting the usual personal application as a candidate for your votes and interest, the sentiments which alone prevent me from adopting every honest mode which has at any time been pursued, to solicit the countenance and protection of a free people. The very spirit and basis of our constitution is, that representatives should be chosen by the *unbiased suffrages* of the community. In strictness, therefore, instead of any sort of address to electors, *the invitation should come from them*. But as the decay of our constitution, and the relaxation of those privileges which can only ensure our security, have gradually taken place, and variety of interests and opinions have sometimes prevented that unanimity which might be wished among constituents, it has been found necessary for gentlemen to offer themselves to the consideration of the public as candidates for the trust of representation; so far I have presumed to go, from no other claim than attachment to the welfare of this kingdom; and if with any other view than your service, and support of your constitutional inheritance as free subjects, may I become the object of your contempt and detestation, as much as I wish to be a guardian of your rights to the best of my abilities. As to the confidence of some people in the *priority of solicitation*, I must declare it is so far dissonant to my own feelings, and repugnant to the system of our government, that I cannot insult the people I am so ambitious to represent so far as to suppose, that however they might express their approbation, they would positively engage both their votes *before they know who were to be candidates*; for at the very day of the poll, a person may appear more worthy than any who have already offered. It has, to the disgrace of mankind been said, that landlords have in some places threatened their tenantry with severity in case of opposition to *their will* on elections. For the sake of human nature I wish not to credit the insinuation. However, the law now in being for regulating elections is such, that policy will prevent such practices for the future; was it not so, what would be the purpose of an election, if the votes of five thousand were to be disposed of by any number of gentlemen of large property, however respectable? As to the gentlemen who have property in the County of Antrim, my knowledge of the generosity of their mind, and their regard to every principle of honour and justice, convinces me that however they may recommend a candidate for one voice, they will be as incapable of using any *undue influence* as landlords, as I am of tampering with their tenantry, as a candidate. Permit me, then, once

more to assure you, that I stand, single and unconnected, a candidate for this county. And, in justice to myself, to convince you that I prefer the prospect I have of representing a *free people* to any other object, I have entirely rejected a seat in parliament for a borough in another county, which was offered to me by a gentleman, who, for certain reasons, was obliged to have my definitive answer, which was, that no interest or emolument would ever prevail on me to give up the election for this County, while there is a man to give me a vote who is a friend to constitutional freedom and independence. I therefore hope that the Electors of this County will consider of the proposal which I have made, and that if any doubt with regard to my principles, intentions, or any matter I have set forth, should arise in the mind of any elector or inhabitant of this county, I will personally wait upon them if they will be so friendly as to give me an opportunity, by letter, of satisfying him with respect to any point. I therefore entreat the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the County of Antrim, to impute the method I take of requesting their favour, to the high opinion I conceive of their candour and integrity, and not to any want of the most perfect respect with which I am, and ever shall be, their devoted humble servant,

“JAMES WILLSON.”

Mr WILLSON's Resignation of his military commission in the King's service, as being inconsistent with the character of an Independent Representative of the People.

TO THE PRINTERS OF THE BELFAST NEWS-LETTER.

“SIRS.—By giving a place in your paper to the copies of a Letter and Memorial, which were transmitted by me on the 17th of this month to Lord George Germaine (*Secretary of State*), you'll oblige your obedient servant,

JAMES WILLSON.

March 30, 1776.

MY LORD,

It is not without concern that I find myself obliged to address your Lordship on this occasion, as one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State. I trust your Lordship will not require any apology for the requisition of that favour, which, in your

official character, it may be proper for you to comply with. Presuming, therefore, that you are the person by whose means my sentiments may be most regularly conveyed to his Majesty, I beg leave to entreat that your Lordship may lay before his Majesty the enclosed memorial.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble Servant,

Gillgorm, March 17, 1776.

JAMES WILLSON.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

The humble Memorial of James Willson,

SHEWETH,

" That Memorialist has served your Majesty for upwards of fifteen years as a Captain in your Majesty's marine forces, during which time Memorialist discharged his duty with fidelity, to the utmost of his power; and that Memorialist has had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons of Ireland, during the present parliament, in which capacity, as a *servant of the people*, his conduct has been uniformly directed by the best of his understanding to promote the interests of this kingdom, humbly conceiving the well-being of this island essentially conducive to the honour and support of your Majesty's government. That Memorialist is, by every binding influence of allegiance and inviolable inclination, ready to risk his life and property, if required, to maintain those inestimable *principles*, by which your Majesty's family *obtained* the sovereignty of these realms; but it is with the most poignant concern that Memorialist finds himself compelled, by the *pernicious measures* of your Majesty's ministers, and the indelible dictates of nature, to implore your Majesty to withdraw him from the rank and honour he enjoys under your Majesty, as Captain on half-pay;

Memorialist thinking it inconsistent with fidelity to your Majesty as a subject, or the people as a representative, to receive wages which render him liable to the command of ministers, the perpetration of whose designs, death would now be as much preferable to it, as it ever has been in the mind of Memorialist to hesitate in the support of your Majesty's real glory and happiness. Memorialist therefore humbly entreats your Majesty, in your royal clemency, graciously to take this his dutiful memorial into consideration, and as the only reward for his service, that Memorialist may be emancipated from the distressing apprehension, which the present military preparations against America suggest, of being obliged to *disobey* the commands of his Sovereign, or adopt *the horrid alternative of stifling every impulse of humanity, and rushing into the blood of his kindred fellow-subjects and countrymen.*"

May 1776.—More than six months had now elapsed since the commencement of the canvass, and it was not till May 1776, that preparations began to be made for the election. The following particulars relative to that great event, for the genuine spirit of independence they exhibit, and as holding out to us an admirable model for the future management of elections, merit our closest attention.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders of Belfast, on Monday the 6th of May,——

F. HAMILTON, Esq. in the Chair;

Delegates were appointed to attend the meeting of the Delegates from the several parishes of the barony of Belfast, at the Donegall Arms on Friday the 10th inst."

"At a meeting of Delegates from several parishes in the barony of Belfast, at Belfast, the 10th of May, 1776.——

JOHN M'CANCE, in the Chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1st. *Resolved*,—That as the stability of the constitution depends on the *freedom of Election*, we are unanimously determined to support this freedom, in opposition to every influence that may tend to weaken or destroy it; whether it proceeds from the *increasing power of the crown*, or the *unconstitutional interference of peers*. This we apprehend to be incumbent on us, as our duty to God, to our country, to ourselves, and to posterity.

2d. *Resolved*,—That we will support James Willson, Esq. as the candidate who hath offered himself to this county on constitutional grounds, conducted himself by constitutional principles, and offered *satisfactory assurances* as to his future conduct in parliament; which have every possible degree of credit and stability given to them by our experience of his past conduct, as the steady friend of civil and religious liberty.

3d. *Resolved*,—That we approve the resolutions of the baronies of Toome, Kilconway, Antrim, and Massereene; and that we will most heartily concur with them, in support of the independence of this county.

4th. *Resolved*,—That Mr John Holmes, Jun. be appointed treasurer of this barony.

JOHN M'CANCE."

"At a Meeting of the Delegates from the several baronies of the County of Antrim, at Ballymena, the 18th of May."

THOMAS MURPHY JONES, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to sit at Carrickfergus during the election, to conduct the business, and to pay the *expences of it*, for which purpose they are hereby empowered to call on the treasurer for what sums they may want; and the said committee was appointed.

Resolved, That Mr John Holmes, Jun. be appointed general treasurer for the county, and that the treasurers for the se-

veral baronies shall pay to the general treasurer, as soon as possible; the several sums they have received.

Resolved, That the general committee do meet at Antrim on Wednesday the 22d inst. at 11 o'Clock, and that they do then fix the time and place of their subsequent meeting.

Resolved, That the convenience of the independent electors depends upon the regularity of our proceedings, and that it is of importance that the delegates of the baronies do make out lists of the freeholders of their several parishes, and send duplicates of them to the committee at Antrim, on Wednesday next.

Resolved, That the committee shall, before the day of election, prepare a *Test to be proposed to the Candidates*.

Resolved, That as the *love of liberty, zeal for the constitution, and unbiassed integrity in the disposal of his vote*, are the first virtues of an elector, and the great duties which he owes to his country, to his conscience, and to posterity: We therefore think ourselves called upon to take this public method of declaring the heartfelt pleasure we derive from the manly spirit of freedom and independence, which is so widely diffused through the different parts of this county, *in opposition to the frowns or favours of the interested and great*; and from the virtuous attachment to our venerable Constitution, which such numbers of all ranks discover upon this trying occasion, notwithstanding the *venality and corruption* which too clearly characterize the present age. These are circumstances which must give delight to every friend of Irish liberty, which will reflect the highest honour upon this long enslaved country; and which in the mean time give us the most confident assurance, that this glorious struggle shall be crowned with success.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the Belfast News-Letter.

THOMAS MORRIS JONES."

Carrickfergus, May 30.

"*The following CONSTITUTIONAL TEST, which had been unanimously approved by numerous bodies of independent electors, was this morning proposed to the candidates for the county, to be subscribed by them before the people:—*

"I, A. B. do most solemnly promise and declare, that if I shall have the honour of representing this county in the ensuing parliament, I will not accept any place, pension, title, or emolument *under the crown*; for myself or any other person, either by transference, reversion, or any species of equivocal collusion, as long as I shall sit in such parliament.

"I do further solemnly promise, and engage myself to my constituents, that I will endeavour to the utmost of my power to promote and procure, and having procured to maintain and continue, acts of the legislature:—

For establishing a *more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament.*

For vindicating all the legal rights of the people; especially their grand privilege, *absolute freedom of election.*

For subjecting each candidate for a seat in parliament to an *oath against his having used bribery, or any other illegal or unconstitutional means of gaining his election.*

For *excluding pensioners* from sitting in the House of Commons; and for *reducing the number of placemen* there, as much as is consistent with the public service.

For explaining, amending, or if it shall be found necessary, repealing, the law of Henry the 7th commonly called *Poyning's Law*; in order to restore to Ireland her rights as a free country.

For securing *personal liberty* to the people of Ireland, by means of an adequate *Habeas Corpus*.

I do further promise, and bind myself to my constituent, by every assurance that a man of honour can give or expect, that I shall at all times, and on all occasions, exactly *pursue such instructions as they, constitutionally assembled, think proper to give me.*

We are authorised to inform the public, that Mr Conway refused to subscribe the above test; Mr. Skeffington also refused it: but *Mr. Wilson and Mr. Dalway* most cheerfully agreed to it."

Belfast, June 18.

"At a meeting of the Committee for conducting the independent interest of the county of Antrim, it was unanimously resolved:

That Marriot Dalway, Esq. deserves the most grateful acknowledgments from the friends of freedom, for his ready concurrence with their wishes in embarking in their cause as a candidate for the county of Antrim; a concurrence, which availed equally to confirm the independent character he has always sustained and to aid the independent interest, which he has always promoted by truly respectable conduct, both in public and private life.

Resolved therefore, That this Committee do, on behalf of themselves, and the free electors of the county of Antrim, return their warm and sincere thanks to Mr Dalway; entertaining a full sense of his noble and disinterested principles, in undertaking the fatigue and anxiety of an election so long and so closely contested; happy, however, in the consciousness that to a mind like his, the signal success of the cause of liberty in the person of her constitutional champion James Willson, Esq. must more than counterbalance every other consideration.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be published in the Newspapers."

" At a very numerous and respectable meeting, assembled at BELFAST, on Tuesday the 18th inst. to celebrate the success of the independent interest, the following constitutional toasts were drank :—

The King. The High Sheriff of the county. Our new constitutional representative, James Willson, Esq. His worthy and independent colleague, Marriot Dalway, Esq. The independent electors of the County of Antrim. The delegates, who conducted the independent interest. The county of Antrim, and may it always have constitutional representatives. Prosperity to Ireland, and may her other counties imitate our example, and partake our success. May the electors of Ireland never choose those to represent them who are hired to betray them. May the spirit of the constitution live, and may we never be haunted by the ghost of it. Disgrace and punishment to those who would " build their greatness on their country's ruin." May the King lose his bad servants, and the people get good ones. May the spirit of the people increase in proportion to their danger. More tests to members of parliament, and less need of them. A House of Commons to Ireland, chosen by, not imposed upon the people. May the distinctions of the constitution be preserved, and disappointment to those Lords who would encroach on the rights of the people. Equal liberty to all parts of the British empire. The British flag, and may it never fly in the face of its maker. The glorious memory. The memory of Andrew Marvel. The memory of Algernon Sidney. The memory of John Hampden. The memory of Lord Russel and the exclusioners. The Middlesex Jury, who presented the Duke of York as a papist, and reformation to

those who established popery in Canada. The 16th of February, 1768. The 1st of July, 1690. The 15th of June, 1215. The 18th of June, 1776; and may it be to the county of Antrim, what the 15th was to the British empire, its complete enfranchisement. May the honest triumph which we now enjoy, excite others to the same means of obtaining it. John O'Neill, Esq. and freedom of election. Hercules Langford Rowley, Esq. and freedom of election. Mr Dawson, and the independent electors of Armagh. Mr Richardson, and the independent electors of Derry. Mr Tennison, and the independent electors of Monaghan. Sir Edward Newenham, and the independent electors of the county of Dublin. The free citizens of Dublin. The memory of Dr Lucas. Permanence and security to the independent spirit and the constitutional rights of the people. Liberty to those who dare contend for it, and to those who dare not. May the governors of counties never govern the elections of them. The County of Down, and may it and every other county of Ireland rather imitate a good example than continue in an evil habit. A speedy and happy reconciliation between Great Britain and America. Lord Chatham; increase of health to him, and may his wisdom again save us. Lord Camden. Sir George Saville. General Conway. The protesting Lords of the present parliament of Great Britain, and of the late parliament of Ireland. May we ever have hearts to love the constitution and hands to defend it."

RECEPTION OF JAMES WILLSON, A REAL REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE PEOPLE, AT BALLYMENA.

"Extract of a Letter from Ballymena, June 22."

On Thursday the 20th instant Mr Willson dined here on his return from being elected Knight of the Shire for this

county. His entrance into this town was truly pleasing and magnificent, being escorted by at least 20,000 persons, whose acclamations and countenances bore the most expressive testimony of heartfelt transport, which exceeded any thing I ever saw or heard of in this kingdom. The order and regularity which was observed in the arrangement of so great a number, gave additional grandeur to their appearance. Ten thousand men, with blue cockades, and hearts elated by the restoration of Liberty to the county, went foremost in array : next to these, 400 free-masons, attired in their jewels, armed with carabines for the purpose of saluting, and preceded by a large band of music, and colours made for the occasion, descriptive of their different lodges, and embroidered with various emblematical figures; to these succeeded 500 young women, habited in white, ornamented with blue ribbons, and carrying green boughs in their hands; the leader of those patriot virgins bore a large garland richly decorated; and the animated daughters of liberty closed their fair train with a female band of music, who with infinite spirit and address, played " Britons strike home," and several other tunes suited to the joy of a happy multitude. Immediately after followed Mr Willson, attended by the Delegates from the several baronies, who so gloriously conducted the independent interest, and will be revered by the latest posterity for their firm and virtuous exertions in the cause of liberty. A thousand horsemen terminated the procession; which, exclusive of the multitudes that crowded through the fields, occupied at least a mile and a half of the road. The masons lined the street from the entrance into town, to the tavern, where dinner was prepared. During the entertainment, many patriotic songs were performed by the fair choir, in whose vivid looks the blushing glow of rural health, and the genial

fire of Liberty seemed contending to emulate each other. The evening was concluded with bonfires, universal illuminations, and festivity."

" TO THE FREE AND
INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

GENTLEMEN,

The unremitting and undismayed exertions of your free spirits have elevated me to the highest and most honoured summit of my ambition. It is impossible to express or describe the feelings of my heart in this unparalleled situation. Let me therefore rely on the virtuous sympathies of your minds, that you will believe me perfectly possessed of the awful importance of the trust you have reposed, thoroughly conscious of the honourable distinction you have conferred, and determined to the utmost of my abilities to deserve it. Bound by every tie of public and private obligation, I devote myself totally to you, and shall ever studiously pursue the constitutional independent line of conduct, which you have sanctioned by your approbation, and signalized by your successful support.

" Permit me to add my sincere congratulation to all the friends of constitutional independence, in every other county of this kingdom. From your exemplary success the independent interest in general derives new vigour; and feels with you the congenial triumph of freedom. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

And faithful servant,

JAMES WILLSON."

Aug. 25.—" Lord Camden returned from Dublin to Bangor, and on the 30th he honoured the gentlemen of Belfast with his company at a public dinner, at which about eighty persons

were present. On leaving the room, his Lordship was pleased to express in a strain of peculiar politeness and elegance, the satisfaction he felt in this mark of attention and regard on the part of so respectable a body, which could not be equivocal, as he no longer possessed any official powers;* and at the same time his attachment to this kingdom, which from his connections and acquaintance with it, he should ever consider as a part of his native country. Many loyal and Whig toasts were as usual drank after dinner."

Sunday, Oct. 26.—"The elegant new Church erected here by the Earl of Donegall, was consecrated by the Bishop of Down and Connor."

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUNTY ANTRIM ELECTION.

June 19. 1777.—"Yesterday a respectable number of the Delegates, and other Freeholders of the County of Antrim, met at the Donegall-Arms, to celebrate the anniversary of the late free, constitutional election for said county, when the *choice of the people* triumphed over all opposition. The Delegates came to the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*,—That they will continue to exert themselves in support of the freedom of election.

2. *Resolved*,—That the ancient mode of *supporting the representatives of the people by a voluntary subscription of the electors*, is most excellently adapted to secure the integrity of

* Lord Camden had enjoyed the dignity of Lord Chancellor, until the year 1770, when the seals were taken from him, on occasion of his having expressed his opinion decidedly against the court, in the case of the Middlesex election. In the whole of the American war, he constantly took the side of his great friend (Lord Chatham) in resisting the coercive measures of government.—His eldest son exercised the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from the year 1795 to 1798.

the elected. They will defray the necessary expences of their constitutional representative James Willson, Esq. during his attendance on parliament.

3. *Resolved*,—That Mr Robert Campbell and Mr John Holmes be appointed Treasurers to take in subscriptions for the above purpose from the freeholders and inhabitants of the county."

1778.—ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

As the coasts of this country had been insulted, and her trading vessels captured, within sight of her ports, by American privateers, an invasion was justly apprehended, when the power of France became openly leagued with the American States in the War against Great Britain. In this alarming crisis, rendered more so by the utter inability of the government to afford protection, the TOWNS MEN OF BELFAST, entered into *armed associations*, for defence against the foreign enemy.—Hence the origin of the celebrated Volunteer System.

March 27 to 31.—"A number of gentlemen, inhabitants of this place, have associated to learn the Military exercise, with a design of forming a Volunteer Company."

April 13.—"The Ranger, privateer, Captain Paul Jones, of America, mounting 18 6 pounders, sailed round the Drake Sloop of war, lying in this harbour, and afterwards sheered off. On the 24th, she was engaged by the Drake about mid-channel between Donaghadee and the Scotch shore,—but after an obstinate engagement of 43 minutes, the Sloop was obliged to strike. The latter mounted only 20 guns, 4 pounders."

"April 16 being the Anniversary of the BATTLE OF CULLODEN, the survivors of the volunteer company of this town to the number of sixteen, dined together at the Donegall-Arms. The intention of their meeting was to give their countenance and approbation to the spirit now springing up in this place for

self-defence, similar to that which appeared here, and in most towns in the North of Ireland in the year 1745; and the toasts after dinner were expressive thereof, and of loyalty and constitutional liberty. This company, on the 28th of October, 1745, in number 110, marched into the garrison of Carrickfergus, together with the independent company of this place, of nearly the same number, by directions of the late Lord Antrim, then Lord Lieutenant of the county, on an alarm spread, that a large body of Highland Rebels had collected a number of fishing boats on the west coast of Scotland with intention to land in our bay. The two companies remained in that garrison ten days, and performed the duty of regulars, with great military order. Both these companies were uniformly well armed, clothed, and disciplined, at their own expence. Beside which, there were then under arms in this town, one company called invalids, uniformly clothed, and two companies of militia."

There are now two companies of volunteers in this town training; one consists of about 90, the other 60; and the numbers of both daily increasing.

COMMEMORATION

OF THE ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

June 18.—"The Delegates, and other free and independent electors of the County of Antrim, dined together at the Donegall Arms, in commemoration of the signal victory with which the honest and spirited efforts of the people, to break through an unconstitutional domination, were crowned, on the 18th of June, 1776. Among many excellent Whig toasts, the following were drank:—A new edition of Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, with corrections and amendments.—

May toleration only be limited by the *safety* of the Constitution.—May public spirit awake, and public virtue revive.—The Protestant interest.—Whig interest.—The glorious memory of King William.—of John Hampden &c.—The 1st of July 1690,—12th do. 1691.”

June 28.—“On Sunday last the first Belfast Volunteer Company paraded, and marched to church in their uniform, which is scarlet turned up with black velvet, white waistcoat and breeches. After the sermon, which was delivered by the Rev Mr Graham, a very sensible and polite address was made from the pulpit, in commendation of that laudable spirit which had so early occasioned the formation of the company, and pointing but the very valuable purposes it was calculated to promote.—The clothing of the majority of the Company was of IRISH MANUFACTURE; and the whole made a brilliant and pleasing appearance.”

July 1.—“The two Volunteer Companies (the first of which consists of 100 men, and the second of 74,) paraded, and fired 3 vollies with the greatest regularity.

Copy of a letter from Richard Heron, (Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant,) to Stewart Banks Esq. Sovereign of Belfast.

Dublin Castle, August 14, 1778.

“SIR.—My Lord Lieutenant having received information, that there is reason to apprehend three or four privateers in company, may in a few days make attempts on the Northern Coasts of this Kingdom; by his Excellency's command, I give you the earliest account thereof in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence give to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale his Excellency cannot at present send *no further military force* to Belfast, than *a troop or two of horse, or part of a Company of invalids*; and his Excellency desires you will acquaint me, by express, whether a troop or two of horse may be properly accommodated in Belfast, so long as it

may be proper to continue them in that town in addition to the two troops now there.

I have the Honour to be &c.

RICHARD HERON."

A few days after, (18th August,) the Sovereign received another letter from Mr Heron, informing him that "routes were dispatched, by express, last night, for the immediate march of a proper force to Belfast, and other parts of the Northern coast, for their protection and defence; and his Excellency has further commanded me to say, that he *very much approves of the spirit of the Inhabitants of Belfast*, who have formed themselves into companies for the defence of the town."

"*Theatre, Ann Street.*—By desire of the Belfast Volunteers.—To-morrow Evening, being Wednesday the 4th of November, in commemoration of the anniversary of the birth of *King William III. of glorious and immortal memory*, will be performed the Tragedy of

TAMERLANE THE GREAT;

WITH THE

Fall of Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks.

With the Farce of

CATHERINE AND PETRUCCHIO."

"Nov. 4.—Being the anniversary of the birth of the glorious and immortal KING WILLIAM, III. the same was observed here with *every demonstration of joy*.—About one o'clock the three volunteer companies paraded in their uniforms, and fired three vollies each, with all military exactness; and same time the Amazon privateer fired nine guns in honour of the day.—The evening concluded with illuminations, &c.; and the Tragedy of Tamerlane (as is usual on that evening) was performed at our new theatre, before a numerous and splendid audience."

Nov. 5.—"Two of the volunteer companies fired three vollies each, in commemoration of the happy frustration of the gunpowder plot."

1779. Jan. 2.—“This evening, about 4 o’Clock, the **AMAZON PRIVATEER**, Captain Robert Moore, got under way, and sailed hence on her first cruise. This is the first vessel of the kind ever fitted out from this place. She mounts 14 double fortified 6 and 4 pounders, and is manned with 80 brave fellows, whose personal courage, (if put to trial on equal terms,) must ensure them success.”

The **Amazon** was unfortunately wrecked, at Groomspoint, in March, 1780.

February 20.—“The news of the acquittal of the truly great and honourable **ADMIRAL KEPPEL** was received in this place with universal pleasure. The Volunteer companies paraded in uniform, and fired as usual on days of public rejoicing; at night the town was illuminated. A ludicrous representation of the **MALICIOUS ADMIRAL** (*Sir Hugh Palliser*, his accuser,) hanging from a gallows, was carried through the streets; and after receiving every suitable mark of dishonour, served at last for fuel to a bonfire that burned in honour of **Keppel**, surrounded by the principal inhabitants, who drank many toasts expressive of their sense of such a dark, malicious, and ill-grounded prosecution.”

March 22.—“On receiving the news of the **TAKING OF PON-DICHERRY** from the French, the three Volunteer companies fired three volleys; and in the evening the town was illuminated.”

April.—“Last week **TWO BRASS FIELD-PIECES** (6 pounders,) belonging to one of our Volunteer companies, were landed from Liverpool.”

May.—A **DESCENT** was, at this time expected to be made by the **FRENCH**, on the Coast of the County of Antrim. A large body of troops was in consequence ordered to this quarter. “It is certainly incumbent (*Belfast News-Letter*,) on the different Volunteer Corps, on the present occasion, to have pro-

per supplies of ball cartridges, so as to be prepared on the shortest notice. The three companies of this place, have every thing *already provided.*"

COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

July 1.—"Our three Volunteer companies paraded in their uniform, with *Orange Cockades*, and fired three volleys with their usual steadiness and regularity, in commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne."

State of the Volunteers in the Counties of ANTRIM and DOWN, September, 1779.

"As the public may be desirous of knowing the state of the Volunteer Corps in the counties of Antrim and Down; the following, though in many instances incorrect, is inserted as the best we have yet been able to obtain.

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

* Sixty of which armed.—† Those marked thus were unarmed.—

‡ Unarmed, but arms daily expected.

Place.	Captains.	Number of Men.
Belfast	Banks	120.
—	Saunders	100
—	Brown	60
— Train		60
Total of Belfast		340
Lisburn, 2 companies	Stewart, &c.	100*
Larne	Bell	50†
Garrickfergus		76
Larne	Shaw	60
Glenarm	Stewart	40
Cathcastle		50†
Ballycastle, &c.	Boyd	60†
Ballymoney	Leslie	30
Bushmills	Duncan	30
Ballyaghan and Portrush		50
Risharkin	Bristow	24
Portglenone, 2 companies	Simpson and Hill	60

Cullybackey	Dickey	45
Ballymena	Lendrick	60
Broughshane		60
Buckna		40
Connor, Kells, Doagh, & Ballyclare		80
Clough		60
Crumlin		40
Dervock	Moore	25
Ballylease, near Colerain	Crombie	60
		<hr/>
		1474

Adjoining County of Antrim.

Colerain, 2 companies	Lloyd and Lyle	180
Somerset	Richardson	40
Baldrushane	Lyle	30
<hr/>	Galt	40
		<hr/>
		210

COUNTY OF DOWN.

Newtown	Stewart	115
Comber, 2 companies	Stewart and Andrews	100†
Killileagh	Blackwood	56‡
Castleward	Hon. Edward Ward	80
Portaferry	Savage	80
Echlinville	Echlin	80
Bangor	Crawford	50
Gilford, &c.	Sir B. Johnston	150
Downpatrick, 2 companies	West and Trotter	100
Killinchy	Hamilton	50
Castlewellan	Lord Glerawly	70
Kilmore, &c.	Fergie	40
Seaford	Ferde	70
Donaghadee	M'Minn	40
Ballywalter	Cochran	40
Rathfriland	Lord Clanwilliam	70†
In the neighbourhood		80†
Ardmillan	Knox	60
Waringsford	—	40
Magherally	—	70
— Horse	—	40
Moorehall	Moore	40
Springfield	Waddel	80
Saintfield	Price	80
Rostrevor	Ross	80

Newry, 2 companies	Scott and Bristow	190	190
Train		60	
Banbridge and Loughbrickland			100
Glascar			40
Artuckle			20
Near Killinchy	Potter		30
Mourne	Ross		100
TOTAL COUNTY OF DOWN			2,241
TOTAL COUNTY OF ANTRIM			1,474
IN AND NEAR COLLEMAN			210
			3,925

October.—By the decrease of trade, and increase of expenditure, the nation was now reduced to the most deplorable state, and the discontents of the people were augmented by the refusal of the British Legislature, to relax the regulation on IRISH TRADE; but the formidable aspect which the Volunteers had now assumed, and the bold remonstrances of the Irish Parliament produced such an effect on the British government; that the relaxation of the COMMERCIAL RESTRAINTS was at length acceded to without opposition. The following ADDRESS and INSTRUCTIONS, relative to this transaction, were transmitted from the inhabitants of BELFAST to the representatives of the borough, in the House of Commons:

“To the Hon. Henry Skeffington, and Alexander Crookshank, Esq. Representatives for the Borough of Belfast.

WE, the Sovereign, Burgesses, and other principal Inhabitants of the town of Belfast, whose names are hereunto annexed, fully convinced of the attention and respect which the representative body owes to the opinion of their constituents, and entertaining the strongest confidence in your public spirit and fidelity to the important trust reposed in you, beg leave to represent :

"That we think ourselves most loudly called upon, by the present crisis, to express our sense of the distresses and calamities in which this ill-fated country is involved, by the decay of trade, by the want of manufactures, and by the impolitic restrictions on our commerce, under which we labour.

"That the condition of this kingdom is so truly affecting and deplorable, that our manufacturers, even in this time of cheapness and plenty, are yet starving for want, and that the little shipping which we formerly had employed, are rotting in our ports:

"That nothing can relieve us from impending ruin, but the enjoyment of a free and unrestrained Trade; a right to which we are entitled by the laws of nature, by the principles of our constitution, and by the interest which the empire at large must ever have in our strength and happiness.

We therefore take the liberty of requesting, that you will use every means in your power to accomplish this desirable end; and particularly, that unless you have the most satisfactory reason for believing that it shall be otherwise immediately secured, you will oppose every Money Bill for more than six months after the expiration of those now in being, till our grievances be redressed, and a free trade obtained.—Given at Belfast this 28th of October, 1779.

To the address inserted above, our representatives sent the following answer:—

To the Sovereign, Burgesses, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—Sensible of the present distressed state of this country, it is with pleasure we receive, at so critical a period, the sentiments of them, on whose integrity and good sense, we have the firmest reliance.

Permit us to assure you, that we shall attentively regard those instructions with which you have honoured us; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to obtain the enjoyment of a free and unrestrained trade, on which the welfare and happiness of this kingdom so much depend.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your much obliged, and

Faithful humble Servants,

HENRY SKEFFINGTON,
ALEX. CROOKSHANK."

Dublin, Nov. 9, 1779.

1780.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE INHABITANTS, ON THE PASSING OF THE BILL FOR THE FREEDOM OF TRADE, WITH THEIR ADDRESS TO THE KING.

Monday, March 6.—“In consequence of the British act of Parliament being received here, granting Ireland a free liberty of trading with the American Colonies, &c. &c. this town was elegantly illuminated, and every other demonstration of satisfaction was testified on that agreeable occasion. On Wednesday the Belfast Battalion (with two pieces of Artillery) fired three volleys in honour of Admiral Rodney's Victory over the Spanish squadron, off Cape St Vincent.”

“At a Meeting of the Sovereign, Burgesses, and principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast, on the 13th instant, the following Address of Thanks to his Majesty, was unanimously agreed to.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Sovereign, Burgesses, and principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast, Beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty of our inviolable attachment to your royal person and government.

To relieve the distresses of his subjects, is the true glory of the father of his people; and when justice and generosity are conspicuous, gratitude cannot be silent.

Permit us, therefore, most gracious sovereign, to express our unfeigned thanks, and heart-felt satisfaction, for your Majesty's goodness; manifested by your concurrence with the British parliament, in abolishing several of the principal restrictions on our Trade, and liberally opening to us new sources of commerce; by admitting us to a participation of the trade of Great Britain.

The adoption of these wise and salutary measures, the benefits of which we trust will be for ever secured to us, fills us with the most pleasing hopes, that your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland will be thereby raised from a state of poverty and wretchedness, to a prosperous and flourishing condition; and that experience will convince our British fellow subjects, who have given us the most unequivocal proof of their affection, that the true interest of the whole British empire will be eminently promoted by the extension of our commerce.

These happy effects must powerfully tend to increase that reciprocal confidence and harmony, which should ever subsist unimpaired, between your Majesty's subjects of both kingdoms; and indelibly fix in their minds this indisputable truth, that Britain and Ireland must rise or fall together.

We trust that we shall ever persevere in demeaning ourselves to your Majesty, with duty, and filial obedience; and consequently be blessed with an uninterrupted continuance of your Majesty's paternal care and attention.

Belfast, March 17, 1790.

March.—Notwithstanding the importance of these concessions, distrust pervaded the public, and an opinion daily gained ground, that without a LEGISLATURE TOTALLY INDEPENDENT

of the British parliament, the privileges of a commerce granted to this country would be quite precarious. Declarations to this purpose were now published, and instructions transmitted to the national representatives. Among others, the following INSTRUCTIONS were sent to the Delegates for the county of Antrim, and the borough of Belfast.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Antrim, on Thursday, the 23d of March, 1780, at the market-house of BELFAST, pursuant to public notice from the high sheriff, the following instructions were unanimously agreed to:—JOHN BROWN, Esq. in the chair, the sheriff being prevented by indisposition from attending.

To the Honourable Henry Seymour Conway and James Willson, Esqrs. Knights of the Shire for the County of Antrim.

GENTLEMEN.—With every suitable impression of gratitude for that degree of commercial emancipation which we have obtained, we must necessarily feel an anxiety for its permanence.

That anxiety can only be quieted by our constitution's resuming its true and native vigour, as this alone can give security to any blessings we may enjoy.

And independently of this consideration, our enjoyment of the most unbounded prosperity would be incomplete, while embittered by the humiliating reflection that we are not free; which must ever be the case so long as a controul over us is exercised or assumed by any legislature or body of men, in which *we are not represented*.

On these principles, gentlemen, we instruct you to co-operate with the friends of this kingdom, and its constitutional rights, in removing the noxious interposition of the privy-council, between our King and Parliament; an interposition which crept ~~up~~ against the spirit and essence of the constitu-

tion, in times of *comparative ignorance and limited representation*, on a particular occasion which was soon over, and under the shelter of circumstances which were transient and of a nature never to return : We therefore earnestly enjoin you, by every constitutional means, the most efficacious of which is the power over the national purse, to exert yourselves (though we cannot see from whence an opposition should arise) for the repeal of that well known and most offensive act of Sir Edward Poyning ; or such modification of it as may restore to the two houses of parliament the sole right of originating all legislative acts without alteration by any power whatsoever ; at the same time that the undoubted prerogative of the crown, of assenting to or rejecting such acts, may be effectually secured.

And we likewise instruct you zealously to concur in asserting, in the fullest and most effectual manner which may be found practicable, the independency and exclusive rights of the King, Lords; and Commons of Ireland, in the great work of legislation."

" The following Address and Instructions were transmitted to the Honourable Henry Skeffington, and Alexander Crookshank, Esq. representatives in parliament for the borough of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—We, the Sovereign, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the town of Belfast, beg leave to express to you our warmest thanks, for your spirited conduct in the present memorable session of parliament, evinced by your co-operating with a virtuous majority of the House of Commons, in their firmness and zeal to procure a restoration of those commercial rights which restrictive laws had so long withheld from us.

We are strongly impressed with gratitude to our most gracious Sovereign and the British Parliament, for their justice in removing the principal causes of our commercial complaints, and their liberality in granting to us a participation of the trade.

of Great Britain. But we cannot be persuaded that the freedom of our trade will be secure, or the emancipation of our country complete, unless our legislature be restored to its *ancient dignity and independence*.

We, therefore, Gentlemen, call upon you at this critical time, and instruct you, strenuously to exert the constitutional powers with which you are invested, in forwarding and supporting an act for the modification of a law called POYNING'S LAW,—which, in its present form, is inimical to the principles of our constitution, and which was passed at a period when many counties in this kingdom were not permitted to send representatives to parliament. And also, that you will endeavour to procure such a declaratory law, as will ascertain and confirm to us and our posterity our natural birthright—we mean the privilege of being bound only by laws enacted by the King and Parliament of Ireland, which alone can promote and strengthen that reciprocal confidence, and cement that amity and affection which should ever subsist between Ireland and her sister kingdom.

To the Sovereign, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—Sensible of the importance of the subject on which you have honoured us with your instructions, we receive them with great pleasure, as the sentiments of men whose good sense and understanding we entertain the highest opinion of. Permit us to assure you, we will pay the utmost attention to the objects which you offer to our consideration; and that we shall, on every occasion, concur in such measures as may tend to the true interest of this kingdom.

HENRY SKEFFINGTON,
ALEX. CROOKSHANK."

Dublin, April 11, 1780.

May 22.—Declaration of the Belfast Volunteers on the Independent Rights of Ireland, with their Address to Henry Grattan and Barry Yelverton, and the Answers.

“At a general meeting of the Belfast United Volunteer Companies, at Belfast, the 22d of May, 1780.—WADDRELL CUNNINGHAM, Esq. in the chair :

Resolved Unanimously.—That we utterly reprobate the doctrine, that questions respecting the liberties and constitutional rights of Ireland, are improper subjects of debate for armed citizens, associated in the manner and on the principles of the Irish Volunteers, who are equally the soldiers of the constitution and of the kingdom, bound alike to assist in rescuing the one from abuse, and in defending the other from foreign enemies.

That we think it incumbent on us at this time, to express the gratitude we feel, for the steady, spirited, and able parliamentary conduct of Henry Grattan, Esq. ; and particularly, for his patriotic exertions on the 19th of April, to procure a declaration of our rights ; which, though in some measure defeated, on, what we think, frivolous considerations, called forth an avowal from the members of the House individually, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are exclusively competent to every act of Irish legislation and government, and by this we are determined to abide :—

That we likewise think it our duty to express our thanks to that eminent senator, Barry Yelverton, Esq. for his conduct in parliament, and in particular, for his endeavours on the 26th of April, to redeem the constitution from the usurpations introduced by Sir Edward Poyning : and also for every worthy representative of the people, who supported these questions, and the rights of Ireland, on those days of great and anxious expectation.

That we are confident the time must soon arrive, when the representative, like the constituent body of Ireland, will disdain to rest its prosperity on the fluctuating bottom of expediency, or to suffer nice and scrupulous notions of inexpediency to stand in the way, when our rights are to be asserted, and the constitution vindicated.

That it is our firm opinion, that nothing short of *equal constitutional and commercial liberty*, can effectually consolidate Ireland with Britain, by extinguishing those suspicions and jealousies, which are the bane of that mutual confidence, the establishment of which we ardently wish for, and will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to promote:

That our chairman, and Mr John Brown, do wait upon Mr Grattan and Mr Yelverton, and present these resolutions.

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, CHAIRMAN.

To the Belfast United Volunteer Companies.

GENTLEMEN,—You have done me much honour by your approbation: I rejoice to find the people of Ireland adopt so generally true constitutional principles:

Your right, as Citizens, to think and speak upon political liberty, is not lost but secured and rendered effectual, by your becoming the voluntary soldiers of the nation: With pleasure I see your opinions and their propagation.

I have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

Aug 26, 1780, Dorset-street.

GENTLEMEN.—I am much honoured by your resolution of the 22d instant, returning me thanks for my conduct in parlia-

ment. You must be very diligent in seeking for the appearance of merit, and anxious to reward it, when even my endeavours are thought worthy of your notice.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, and
Obedient humble Servant,

May 27. 1780.

BARRY YELVERTON."

July 1st.—"The Volunteer Battalion of this town paraded in uniform, and fired three volleys in commemoration of the *Battle of the Boyne*; and at night, the town was grandly illuminated."

REVIEW OF THE VOLUNTEERS AT BELFAST.

July 12.—"On Monday the 10th instant, several of the associated volunteer corps marched into town, preparatory to the grand review, and Mr Dobbs, with Mr Hamilton and Mr Stewart, (*now Marquis of Londonderry*,) his Aid-du-camp, went as far as Hillsborough to receive the reviewing general.

The 11th, the remaining companies arrived, and were all (except one which encamped near the review ground,) accommodated by the inhabitants of the town. The same day, about three o'clock, the Earl of Charlemont (the Reviewing General) arrived, escorted by the troop of Newry light horse. His arrival was announced by a salute of seven guns from the Belfast artillery, which was answered by the ships in the harbour, and the three Belfast companies were drawn up to receive him. His Lordship was attended by Sir Annesley Stewart and Mr Grattan, as Aid-du-camps; and Mr Dobbs (the Commanding Officer) introduced the principal officers to his Lordship.

The 12th, in the morning, the several companies paraded at nine o'clock; and marched to the field, about a mile and a half distant. The field extends near half an English mile in

length, and is intersected by a rivulet, on the west side of which the line was formed. The line consisted of 1400 men, divided into four battalions. The remaining body, consisting of nearly the same number, was distributed around the field to keep the ground clear. The spectators occupied a hill, which rises with a gentle ascent from the field, in such a manner that 30,000 persons of both sexes were gratified with a complete view of whatever was done, without confusion or danger. On the most central part of the hill there were boxes erected, which accommodated near a thousand persons with seats. The General was received by the discharge of cannon, and passed along the line, which from the beauty and choice of the men, the uniformity of their dress, and the perfection of their appointments in every particular, was no less a subject of wonder than exultation, to those who examined it most critically. The performance of the men did not belie their appearance. They executed their motions with steadiness, their firings with exactness—and whether they advanced in line, formed, or reduced columns, or marched in divisions, by battalions, and companies, they equally exceeded the most sanguine hopes of their most decided friends. When the common firings, manœuvres and evolutions were over, a mock engagement was executed, in which the four battalions who had hitherto remained spectators, were to attack and defeat those already reviewed. The plan was admirably adapted to the nature of the ground.

The attack was made from the opposite side of the river to that where the line stood ; there the ground, swelling into a hill, exhibited the troops formed for the attack, at the same time with those to be attacked, in the most picturesque point of view. The movements of the attacking troops, the well directed and well supported fire on both sides, the fording the

river, and passing the bridge, the forming in line after passing the river, the manœuvres to outflank the enemy, the partial retreat of the yielding army, and the final success of a well-planned scheme of attack, altogether exhibited as perfect an image of war as can well be conceived. The spectators, as well as the soldiers, for a moment seemed to be possessed by the ardor, the hopes, and fears, which attend a real action. This added much to the spirit and effect; it luckily added nothing to the danger. It is difficult to say which called most for admiration, the spectacle, or the spectators? Three thousand men in arms, steady, uniform, obedient, *breathing the spirit of loyalty and liberty!* or thirty thousand spectators, building their hopes of peace and security on the skill and activity displayed by their neighbours, friends, and children, in the field; obliged to admire those whom they had always loved; and entitled to commend the very persons whose merit reflected honour on themselves! In that vast multitude not a man disturbed the general harmony, by any act of indecency or violence. At seven o'clock in the evening the troops marched back to town, after having been nine hours under arms.

The 13th, the troops marched again to the field, when those who had kept the lines the preceding day passed in review before the General; and in the engagement which succeeded, were attacked and routed by those battalions which they had before attacked and defeated. The merit of the two days was equal, but the concourse of people on the last was vastly greater. Among the persons of distinction present was my Lord Camden, who seemed to be affected with the same pleasure which possessed every friend to the House of Hanover, and to those principles which that illustrious House was called over to assert.—They saw before them a body of men, ready to spill the last drop of their blood in maintaining the dignity and independence of the crown, and liberties of the empire.

The 14th, the several companies marched out of town to their respective homes, expressing the highest satisfaction at their kind and hospitable treatment. Mr Cunningham accommodated a whole company, officers and men—and the inhabitants in general left nothing undone that care, kindness, and attention could effect. During three days that the companies continued in Belfast, there was not the smallest tendency to disorder—not a drunken man to be seen in the streets—no accident either in the town or in the field.

Among the commanders of battalions at the late review were three county members, Mr Brownlow, Mr Stewart, and Mr Dawson.

Lord Charlemont, in his way to Belfast, was received by the companies of the several towns and villages through which he passed under arms; and his departure was marked by similar honours with his arrival.

At a meeting of the officers of the volunteer corps, assembled at Belfast the 13th of July, the following resolutions were entered into :

Resolved,—That the captains of the several companies assembled, or their deputies, do meet at the Donegall Arms on the 17th of March next, to fix on the time and regulation of their next annual review.

Resolved,—That the address to the reviewing general now agreed to, be signed and presented by the commanding officer, and the officers commanding battalions.

Resolved,—That the thanks of the Volunteer officers, and of their corps, be presented to the Sovereign and inhabitants of the town of Belfast, for the great and polite attention paid to them, and for the excellent accommodation with which they were provided, and that the commanding officer do communicate the same.

Resolved,—That the warmest thanks of the volunteer companies be given to Francis Dobbs, Esq. their commanding officer, for a plan of review digested with extensive military knowledge, regulated with uncommon assiduity, and executed with an ability that found its best illustration, and its merited reward in the behaviour of the assembled corps on the late occasion.

The commanding officer, and the several officers commanding battalions, waited on the Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont, their reviewing general, with the following address :—

MY LORD,

We cannot, without sensible pleasure, remark a fortunate gradation of persevering virtue in the regular, yet rapid progress made by the volunteers of Ireland, from their first formation in small and scattered companies, to an union of more large and effective military bodies, not unworthy, we hope, the honour to have had your Lordship our reviewing general; and it is with much self-satisfaction we reflect, that by being among the first who have accomplished so general a meeting of the volunteer corps, in this part of the kingdom, we have had an opportunity of setting an example in the choice of a nobleman, who on all occasions, has so fully approved himself *a guardian of the constitution and the friend of the people*.

If want of experience in meetings so numerous as the present, the short time as yet spent in the exercise of arms, and the necessary avocations of civil life, have, in many particulars, prevented us from displaying the scrupulous regularity, and mechanical exactness, observable in men of military profession; your Lordship we are confident will recollect, that, except in periods of extreme danger, rigor of discipline among citizens in arms, though practicable, would be inexpedient; but if ever a period so urgent should arise, we will not hesitate to adopt

such necessary regulations as may most readily and effectually enable us to withstand and repel every enemy to the rights and liberties of Irishmen.

Your Lordship will allow the assembled volunteer corps to seize the present favourable occasion, of expressing in the united and consistent character of free citizens, and voluntary soldiers, their heartfelt satisfaction in viewing the rising prospects of their native country; prospects that make us anticipate the happy period, when posterity enjoying the much wished for consummation of civil, political, and religious freedom, shall consecrate in grateful remembrance, the names of those patriots (the name of Charlemont conspicuous in the number,) who laboured to secure them these invaluable blessings: and when this island, filled with freemen, and rich in the bounties of heaven, shall demonstrate to Britain, that our firm purpose never to acknowledge or acquiesce in the right of any power to bind this country, save only *the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland*, is consistent with her interests, by increasing our wishes to add our united efforts to repel the numerous and powerful attacks against the constitution and prosperity of the empire.

FRANCIS DOBBS, *Commanding Officer,*

ROBERT STEWART,

WILLIAM BROWNLOW,

THOMAS DAWSON,

ALEXANDER M'MANUS,

STEWART BANKS,

✓ THOMAS SAUNDERS,

POINTZ STEWART,

JOHN BROWN.

*Officers Commanding
Battalions.*

To which his Lordship was pleased to give the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,

You have conferred on me an honour of a very new and distinguished nature,—to be appointed, without any solicitation

on my part, the reviewing general of an independent army, raised by no other call than that of public virtue; an army which costs nothing to the state, and has produced every thing to the nation, is what no other country has it in her power to bestow. Honoured by such a delegation, I obeyed it with cheerfulness.—The inducement was irresistible; I felt it the duty of every subject to forget impediments which would have stood in the way of a similar attempt in any other cause.

I see with unspeakable pleasure, the progress of your discipline and the increase of your associations. The indefatigable, steady, and extraordinary exertions to which I have been a witness, afford a sufficient proof, that, in the formation of an army, public spirit, a shame of being outdone, and the ambition to excel, will supply the place of reward and punishment, can levy an army and bring it to perfection.

The pleasure I feel is increased, when I reflect that your associations are not the fashion of a day, but the settled purpose and durable principle of the people: from whence I foresee; that the advantages lately acquired will be ascertained and established, and that solid and permanent strength will be added to the empire.

I entirely agree in the sentiment you express with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of this kingdom. I agree also in the expediency of making the assertion. It is no more than the law will warrant, and the real friends of both nations subscribe.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

faithful and obedient

humble servant,

July 15, 1780.

CHARLEMONT.

Major Dobbs waited on Samuel Black, Esq. Sovereign of Belfast, and addressed him in the following terms :

“MR SOVEREIGN,—I am directed by the Volunteers assembled here to return their most sincere and grateful thanks to you, Sir, and to the inhabitants of this place, for the great and polite attention paid to them, and for the excellent accommodation with which they were provided.—Give me leave to add my warmest acknowledgments to theirs, and to express the high respect I entertain for you, and for the town of Belfast.”

To which the Sovereign was pleased to make the following reply.

“SIR,—To receive the thanks of the Volunteers lately assembled here, for my attention to them, is truly pleasing to me ; and I am rejoiced to find that the accommodations furnished by the inhabitants have met with the approbation of those corps and the commanding officer.

The conduct of the inhabitants and a multitude of spectators was so minutely proper, that there was no occasion for my exertions as Chief Magistrate ; and therefore I beg you will return my sincere thanks, and *that* of the inhabitants of this place, to the different corps for their peaceable demeanour, and the polite manner in which they have been pleased to express their satisfaction with such accommodations as they met with.”

The eight Battalions lately Reviewed, consisted of

FIRST BRIGADE.

First Battalion	- - - -	Banks, commander	- - - -	302
Second	- - - -	Saunders	- - - -	311
Third	- - - -	P. Stewart	- - - -	336
Fourth	- - - -	Colonel Dawson	- - - -	306
Total				1255

SECOND BRIGADE.

First Battalion	-	-	Colonel Stewart	-	-	-	406
Second	-	-	Colonel Brownlow	-	-	-	322
Third	-	-	Brown	-	-	-	322
Fourth	-	-	Major M'Manus	-	-	-	373

Total 1446

Two Brass Field-Pieces, Six-Pounders, of Belfast,—Train	-	-	-	-	-	32
Newry Horse	-	-	-	-	-	30
General Knox's Troop	-	-	-	-	-	25

GRAND TOTAL 2788

August 28.—Declaration of the Belfast Battalion, on the subject of a Standing Army and a Free Trade.

“BELFAST BATTALION, AUGUST 28, 1780.

At a meeting of the Battalion, in the market-house of Belfast, Lieutenant Samuel M'Tier in the chair, a committee was appointed, who withdrew, and returned with the following declaration, which was unanimously agreed to by the battalion :—

“Equally interested with our countrymen in the sacred and fundamental principles of the constitution, which, to vindicate is loyalty in all, and to violate we account treason in any ; and convinced that these principles, far from being subverted, must be more firmly established, when laws made by the accountable Few are freely and thoroughly canvassed by the Many, for whose good alone they are designed :—We are not afraid, and while we have the sense of injury, or the spirit to resent it, we will not be afraid, individually and collectively, ever to maintain, that what the voice of the Irish nation, our dear and much respected country, declares to be true, is not false, scandalous, seditious, or libellous. If the resolute defence of national rights and liberties be sedition ; if to assert, that a perpetual standing army is unconstitutional, and a free trade without equalized duties is nominal and delusive, be subversive of the constitution, and an insult to the legislature, we will not then scruple to denominate the Volunteers of Ireland traitors, the Bill of Rights a libel, and the present House of Commons the most upright, uncorrupted, and consistent assembly on the face of this earth.

We most heartily concur with our countrymen in resolving :—

First.—That by the constitution, the standing army is a parliamentary army, limited in duration, and dependent on our legislature alone for support ; and that whatever implies a subversion of this first principle of

the constitution, is an act of hostility against the liberties both of this and the sister island.

Secondly.—That the free trade held out to this kingdom, as at present curtailed by the alteration in the Sugar Bill, is unsubstantial and unproductive, delusive to the wishes, and inadequate to the wants of the nation.

Unanimous concerning the end, and earnestly solicitous for the means of attaining it, we call upon the minority of the House of Commons, on whom the eyes of a whole people are anxiously turned, to point out some plan of redress, worthy of their abilities, the public spirit, and the greatness of the occasion. We beseech our fellow-countrymen in general, to be firm, united, and determined; and as the future designs of the enemies of this kingdom may be pre-supposed from the declarations which two of them have so recently made, we adjure our fellow-Volunteers to continue, as we ourselves resolve to continue, *Steady, Vigilant, and Prepared.*

Resolved.—That a committee of correspondence with other Volunteer corps be appointed.

Resolved.—That the above declaration be published in the Belfast News-Letter, and Dublin Evening Post."

SAMUEL M'TIER, Chairman."

November 15.

"An hour—a day of virtuous Liberty,
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

"Struck with just abhorrence at reading an advertisement in the Belfast News-Letter, dated from Bond's Glen, wherein a gentleman (in a land of liberty) presumes to advertise a Reward for an Indian Black, as he styles him, profanely calling his fellow-creature *his property*, and treating a human being in as cavalier a manner as he would his horse, his dog, or any other animal whatsoever; at the same time threatening a prosecution against any person who should dare to hire or harbour him.

We, the members of the *Amicable Society of Belfast*, do hereby pledge ourselves to our unfortunate fellow-creature, the aforesaid Indian Black, that we will afford him every protection in our power, and that we will not only harbour him, but enable him, by pecuniary donations, to carry on a legal prosecution

against his intended enslaver, who (provided said Indian was not indented to him by his own free will and consent, or the approbation and desire of his parents,) has committed a most daring outrage on the liberty of the subject, and has wantonly attempted the perpetration of a deed repugnant to human nature, or to civil society. And we further give it as our opinions, that the above mentioned black (provided he is not an apprentice as aforesaid) can recover a *quantum meruit* for his past services from his late master and advertiser.

If the aforesaid Indian Black will apply at Mrs Hervey's, at the Phoenix, High Street, Belfast, he will meet with the necessary assistance."

December.—"The merchants of this town are now fitting out, as a Letter of Marque to cruize against the Dutch, the remarkably fast-sailing schooner, the Harlequin, and will have her ready to sail in ten days. This vessel was formerly the Rattlesnake privateer of Philadelphia, which took so many prizes at the commencement of the war, and is reckoned as fine a sailer as swims."

1781. Jan. 25.—"A chest of arms, intended as a present to the Rathfriland volunteers, from the Belfast battalion and the two united companies in the town and neighbourhood of Lisburn, was escorted to the last mentioned place by a lieutenant's guard, and forwarded from thence by a captain's guard of the Lisburn True Blues."

March.—"Great rejoicings took place in town, on account of the taking of the ISLAND OF EUSTATIA from the Dutch; the Belfast battalion and their artillery fired a *feu de joy*, and in the evening there were bonfires, the town was elegantly illuminated, and other demonstrations of joy were shewn on the occasion."

BELFAST REVIEW.

20th of July, 1781.—“ On Tuesday the 17th inst. the Earl of Charlemont arrived in this town preparatory to the general review. He was escorted by the Newry and Belfast troops of light dragoons, and attended by the exercising officer, Major Dobbs, whose aid-du-camps were Captain Crawford and Mr Ball. His Lordship, as reviewing general, was received by the different corps as he passed through the country, and his arrival in Belfast announced by a salute of the Belfast artillery. His aid-du-camps were Sir Annesly Stewart, and Arthur Brownlow, Esq.

On Wednesday morning, the whole body, consisting of eighty-two corps, marched in fourteen battalions and four brigades to the review ground, where the first brigade with two troops of cavalry were drawn up, the remainder of the army surrounding the line to keep the ground clear.

After the first brigade was reviewed, the second, which had formed in rear of the former, immediately occupied its ground, and had performed the same salutes, firings, and evolutions, at half past five in the evening.

On Thursday the troops marched off as on the preceding day; those battalions which had passed under review the first day now keeping the lines for the remainder of the cavalry, the whole train of artillery, and the third and fourth brigades of infantry.

The manœuvres for the occasion were,—1. Forming columns on the two centre sub-divisions of battalion.—2. Retiring in column through a wide defile.—3. Advancing in columns, on the four centre files of each wing of battalion.—4. Retiring in two lines, sub-divisions firing alternately.—5. Brigade formed into two lines; to represent the first line of an army retreating

in disorder through intervals in a second one, the latter moving forward to sustain.

The extraordinary degree of improvement in the body at large since their last annual review, was matter of universal joy and wonder; and many of the corps exhibited a perfection of discipline which would do honour to the most experienced troops. Did we consider it within our province, we might here enumerate the particular companies which in our apprehension principally signalized themselves in the marchings, firings, &c. but that task we must beg leave to decline, as the testimony of a multitude of admiring spectators, calculated at 45,000, has already assigned a degree of credit to those corps, which it were useless and vain in us to attempt to increase, by the addition of our feeble applause.

On Friday morning the exercising officer formed the army into four distinct bodies, two to act in an attack and defence on the county of Antrim, and two on the county of Down shores. Of the movements of the former the reader has a particular account subjoined; and the printers will be thankful to any gentleman who may be pleased to furnish them with a circumstantial narrative of what passed on the other side.

ACTION ON THE ANTRIM SHORE.

At an early hour the assailants, consisting of about 1500, beside artillery, marched upwards of four miles down the shore, under the command of Colonel O'Neill, and a number embarked in boats, which rowed alongside the shipping, and there waited the first appearance of the opposite party.

On the alarm of an enemy's appearance in the bay, the drums of the garrison beat to arms; and the cavalry, appointed to act on the Antrim side, reconnoitered. The body allotted to the

defence of this side, amounting to 1200, with artillery, marched down the shore in column, under the command of Colonel Brownlow, with an intention of preventing the enemy's debarkation, and appeared on the heights behind Mr A. Stewart's house, immediately opposite to the place of landing. The landing was covered by a number of armed vessels, some of considerable force, which kept up a constant and warm fire, until it might be supposed that the coast was cleared for the debarkation of the assailants; this was effected from a number of boats, and other small vessels provided for the occasion, with much regularity and appearance of vigorous exertion on their part. They formed near the point where they landed, and were joined by a considerable body which were supposed to have effected a landing lower down in the bay. The action began on the part of the defensive army, which was posted in a most advantageous manner for preventing the progress of the enemy. The ground they occupied rose boldly from the water, and was bounded by a pretty close copse towards the point where the landing was effected. On the ridge and declivity of this hill three lines were formed, which, from the nature of the ground, stood elevated the one above the other, in a manner at once beautiful to the eye, and safe to the troops which composed them. On the opposite extremity of the bank from the copse, and on the very summit of the ridge, the artillery was posted, consisting of two brass field-pieces, and two six-inch howitzers, which were well served and well directed. From the howitzers were discharged shells of such a composition as to afford the appearance of real shells, without the danger. As the enemy advanced from the landing place, the fire of the defensive army became more general and more steady, and the enemy availing themselves of the covert of a bank of earth which had been

neglected to be levelled, and which was co-extensive with the front of the defending army, supported a warmth of fire, which proceeding from three lines so advantageously posted, must, without such cover, have infallibly obliged them to retreat. In these circumstances a constant fire was kept up on both sides, and the lines remained unbroken until a battalion of the enemy's light troops having got possession of the thicket near the point, directed a most galling fire on the left flank of the third line of the defensive army. This changed the chance of the day,—the part of the line so galled, after some necessary disorder, formed a front towards the thicket, and returned the fire of the assailants with much spirit and order; but a detachment of the same battalion having gained the rear, and the defensive army by this means becoming exposed to three several fires, it was resolved to retreat, and choose a more favourable moment of opposition; and accordingly the army retreated by files from the right of battalions in a regular manner, while their retreat was covered by the artillery, which, as the enemy had a steep and difficult hill to ascend, and had not yet established themselves in force on the flank or rear of the line, was allowed to escape, without any attempt on their part to cut it off. The assailants having now established a footing in the country, turned their eyes towards Belfast, the object of their expedition; and after a short halt advanced in two grand divisions, one along the shore, and the other by interior passages, in pursuit of the retreating army.

The debarkation having been thus effected, the defendants retired towards Belfast in excellent order; three battalions, when about two miles distant from the place of landing, lined a strong extensive ravine, which runs in from the road toward the country.

A battalion of grenadiers and light infantry, with a piece of artillery, occupied Fort William, which lies at some distance in front of the left flank of the ravine, the right flank covered by cannon, from a mount commanding the road.

The enemy's column having halted at the avenue leading to the fort, their grenadiers and light infantry were detached to its attack, when a conflict ensued which was maintained on both sides with singular ability. The defendants, from the superiority of artillery being against them, were obliged to abandon the fort, leaving their cannon behind them, and retreating through the country to rejoin the main body.

At this critical juncture, the column moved on to attack the troops in the ravine, forming their line on the heights on the side opposite that which their opponents occupied, having the ravine in their front also.

The post was defended for a considerable time, till a battery opened on it from the fort that had been just abandoned; this with a well directed fire by the enemy's line across the ravine, forced the defending troops again to retire towards Belfast, leaving one battalion, with the grenadiers, light infantry, and artillery, to oppose the passage of Mile-Water bridge,—afterwards well defended, till superior numbers and artillery rendered a retreat from thence unavoidable.

The two brigades then formed their respective lines near the Poor-house, and a general action took place; the issue of which turned on the circumstance of the enemy's left flank being gained by a body just thrown in to the relief of the town. The *chamade* was then beat, and firing ceased.

The action on the Down shore, in many respects similar to this, being concluded nearly at the same time, the whole army drew up in two lines in the streets of the town, and saluted the

general as he passed along their front—the day terminating with a *feu de joye*.

A virtuous pride of numbers and of discipline, and the animating presence of the reviewing general, a nobleman whose political principle and private virtue have added to his hereditary honours another of a nature which no nation in any other period could have conferred ; inspired every breast with the sacred love of its country and of her unalienable rights, and gave a finishing to the great scene, which cannot fail of producing the most glorious and happy effects.

Of artillery there were nine six-pounders, two one pounders, and two howitzers ; the whole completely mounted.

There is probably nothing which could mark the spirit of the times more strongly than Councillor Caldbeck's bringing down from Dublin on this occasion two light field-pieces, and two howitzers, cast at his volunteer foundery.

We can declare from information perfectly authentic, that the number of men under arms, with their officers, drummers, and fifiers, actually amounted to 5,300. The returns at May were for no more than 5,381.

July 21, 1781.

At a meeting of the officers and deputies of the Volunteer corps reviewed at Belfast, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th days of July instant,——COLONEL DAWSON in the chair,

Resolved.—That the chairman do present to the reviewing-general, the Right Honourable the Earl of Charlemont, the following ADDRESS:

MY LORD.—It is with the most heartfelt pleasure that we embrace this, our second opportunity, of addressing your Lordship in that language of esteem, respect, and veneration, which

we think due to your Lordship's exalted character, and which we feel heightened by the happy conclusion of that glorious display of arms and freedom which the late review has afforded to so many thousands of admiring citizens. We feel with gratitude the readiness and politeness with which your Lordship complied with our wishes to be reviewed by your Lordship: we also thank your Lordship for the trouble you have taken in communicating to us the sentiments of the gentlemen of the Lawyer's Corps. We entertain not a doubt, that in every situation, the Volunteer corps of this country, and of the whole kingdom, will behave and conduct themselves as they have hitherto done, in a manner suitable to the character of good citizens, and true friends to their country.

THOMAS DAWSON, Chairman.

To which his Lordship was pleased to give the following answer:

To the Officers and Deputies of the Volunteer Corps reviewed at Belfast, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th days of July, 1781.

GENTLEMEN.—When, in consequence of the honour of your choice, I was last year witness to the amazing exertions of my brave and virtuous countrymen: when I beheld in the field a powerful army, self-raised, self-clothed, self-paid, and disciplined by its own efforts, my astonishment was so great, and my satisfaction so perfect, that with difficulty I found words to express my sentiments upon the interesting occasion, or to return due thanks for the happiness afforded me; and the high honours conferred upon me. What then, gentlemen, must be my present situation? How can I expect to find expressions adequate to explain the feelings of my heart, when my obligations are redoubled by this your second election, and when the great

efforts of last year are obliterated and lost in the miraculous exertions which I have now beheld? When your numbers are increased twofold, and your discipline is brought to a degree of perfection which the most experienced veteran must admire. Silent astonishment can alone express my admiration—heartfelt gratitude must stand in the place of thanks!

Such are my sentiments when I reflect on your goodness towards me—such are my feelings on the bare contemplation of your strength and military skill. But how are these sentiments exalted when I consider the glorious purpose which has called you together, and for the attainment of which you have cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience incident to the self-raised soldier; when I reflect on the effects which your associations have already produced, and upon those which must follow from that perseverance of which there can now be no shadow of doubt. When, in the midst of war, and that too accompanied by circumstances of the most alarming nature, I behold my country fearless of invasion, formidable to her enemies, respected by her sister kingdom, and an object of veneration to all Europe; when in this unhappy period of general confusion, I behold, under the influence of your arms, internal tranquillity restored, the due execution of the laws firmly established, commerce released from those unworthy chains by which she had been so long and so unjustly bound, and constitutional Freedom emerging from that dark abyss into which she had been plunged by lawless and absurd oppression on the one hand, and by folly and corruption on the other.

Go on then my virtuous countrymen—Persevere in the line which you have hitherto pursued—Continue to join every virtue of peace to all the abilities of war—Let your prudence be animated by patriotic zeal, and your spirit, as heretofore, be regu-

lated by cautious wisdom, and by a thorough sense of all your duties as citizens—Go on—Persevere—Oppression is impossible, and Ireland must be happy!

Such, gentlemen, are the sentiments of my heart, which I have now laid before you as an offering far more acceptable to you, than a vain effort to express my gratitude by a useless profusion of thanks.—I say useless, because I am confident, that knowing the benefits you have bestowed on our country, and the honours you have heaped on me, and thinking of my heart as I hope and trust you do, you cannot for a moment doubt how ardently and sincerely I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen, your most obliged, faithful,

And obedient humble Servant,

CHARLEMONT.

Resolved.—That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to our exercising officer, Major Dobbs, expressive of our thanks for his most excellent plan of a review, and for his great attention and judgment in the execution of it.

Resolved unanimously.—That a committee be appointed to prepare an address of thanks to the sovereign and inhabitants of the town of Belfast, for the uncommon hospitality they displayed in entertaining the different corps that were assembled here during the late review.

Resolved.—That such corps as shall choose to be reviewed near this town next summer, do send deputies here on the 17th day of March next, to choose a reviewing general and exercising officer, and to appoint the time for the review.

THOMAS DAWSON, Chairman.

Pursuant to the above resolution, the following ADDRESS was presented to Samuel Black, Esq. Sovereign of BELFAST.

SIR.—We should think ourselves devoid of every principle that distinguishes gentlemen and citizens, if we left this town without expressing the high sense we entertain of the attention, hospitality, and public spirit, exerted by its inhabitants in entertaining the numerous volunteer army lately reviewed here. The exertions of many individuals were such, as in less animated days, would find difficulty in gaining belief. The exertions of all, we are convinced, were fully equal to their abilities, and the occasion. To you, Sir, and to the gentlemen of the Billeting Committee, we owe our particular thanks. We beg you may communicate them to these gentlemen, and make our gratitude known to the inhabitants of the town in general.

We are not without hopes, that through the prudence of the officers and deputies appointed to meet in Belfast on the 17th day of March next, and through the gradual progress in equipment that may be expected to be made by our Volunteers, it may be contrived, that reviews, so necessary to encourage the excellent spirit of our countrymen, may be annually continued, and may be sufficiently numerous to answer their purpose, without making it necessary, in future, to call upon those most zealous in the cause of freedom and their country for exertions, which, however willing they may be to make them, it would be highly ungenerous and inexpedient in us to give occasion to.—Signed by order,

THOMAS DAWSON, Chairman.

To THOMAS DAWSON, Esq. Chairman of the Committee.

SIR,—I had the honour of receiving your very polite address of thanks, which I immediately communicated to the inhabitants of Belfast.

I am requested by them to assure you, that they feel peculiar satisfaction in finding that their exertions to provide entertainment and accommodations for the Volunteers at the late Review, have been so successful as to merit the approbation and thanks of your Committee.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

With respect,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

SAM. BLACK, Secy.

Belfast, July 25, 1781.

September 10.—PREPARATION OF THE BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY AGAINST FOREIGN INVASION.

“ At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company at Belfast, Tuesday 10th September, 1781.—CAPTAIN SAUNDERS, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,—That in the present alarming crisis of public affairs, when a hostile fleet is hovering upon our coasts, we deem it necessary to put ourselves immediately in such a condition as may enable us, should occasion require, to take the field with expedition and effect.

Ordered,—That the Treasurer do with all possible dispatch provide camp equipage sufficient for the whole company, with 10,000 ball cartridge, and every other requisite that may appear necessary for the above purpose.”

September 11.—ADDRESS OF THE BELFAST BATTALION TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT, WITH OFFER OF MILITARY SERVICES.

"To his excellency, Frederic, Earl of Carlisle, Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We, the officers and privates of the BELFAST BATTALION OF VOLUNTEERS, think ourselves called upon by the present general alarm, occasioned by the enemy's hovering on our coasts, to testify our loyalty and zeal; and therefore we beg leave to assure your Excellency that, in case of invasion, we are firmly determined to act in such a manner as shall appear to be most conducive to the general protection and safety of this kingdom.

Signed, by desire of the Battalion,
STEWART BANKS."

To which Secretary Eden returned an answer expressive of the high satisfaction received by his Excellency "in the loyal and zealous offers of service" the address contained.

October 8.—"Such members of the *Knott* as intend dining together at Mr Begg's on Friday, the 12th instant (being the anniversary of the day on which the Commons of Ireland declared that "it is not by temporary expedients, but by a FREE TRADE alone that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin,") are requested to leave their names with Mrs Beggs to-day or to-morrow, that Dinner may be provided accordingly.—Dinner to be on the table at four o'clock.

(Signed by order,) AMYAS GRIFFITH."

October 15.—*Instructions of the Inhabitants of Belfast to the Representatives of the Borough, on the independency of the Legislature and the Judges, Habeas Corpus Act, Expenditure of Public Money &c.*

“ At a meeting of the sovereign, burgesses, and principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, in the town-house of Belfast, on the 15th day of October, 1781, duly convened by public notice from the sovereign, in consequence of a requisition made to him, for the purpose of instructing the representatives in parliament of said town :—GEORGE BLACK, Esq. Sovereign, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, that the following instructions be presented :

To the Hon. Henry Skeffington and Alexander Crookshank, Esq. Representatives in Parliament for the Borough of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN,—At the commencement of a session of parliament, in which we trust that our civil and commercial rights will be established on a solid and permanent foundation, we should think ourselves wanting in duty to our country and our posterity, if we neglected to exercise the constitutional right of conveying to our representatives our instructions and sentiments, with respect to some points which we conceive to be of the highest national importance.

The experience of your zeal and vigilance in former sessions precludes the necessity of urging you in this critical juncture of affairs, diligently to attend your duty in parliament.

We instruct you, gentlemen, to use your most strenuous endeavours to support a full and unequivocal declaration, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland constitute the only authority competent to make laws to govern this kingdom.

We also instruct you to exert yourselves to the utmost, to obtain a proper modification of that law of Sir Edward Poyning,

by which a dangerous breach is made in the most interesting part of our constitution.

The general spirit of our laws obviously intends to preserve the liberty and property of every individual in the community; we therefore instruct you to endeavour to procure an Habeas Corpus Act, similar to that in our Sister Kingdom, which is justly considered as the most perfect security of the personal freedom of the subject.

We instruct you farther, to employ your best abilities and influence, to have a law passed, by which the Judges will hold their places during their good behaviour :—A law which will render men in those high offices more respectable and independent, and consequently ensure a due and impartial administration of public justice.

We strongly recommend to you, to procure a revival of the Mutiny Bill ; which in its present form, we apprehend, may be of dangerous tendency, because it is unlimited in its duration.

We reflect, with singular satisfaction, on the removal of many of those restrictions, which long fettered and confined our trade, and fomented jealousies and animosities between Great Britain and Ireland ; but we must observe to you, Gentlemen, that unless a fair and just equalization of duties is obtained, we shall lose some of the most material advantages which we expected to derive from the extension of our commerce.

The expenditure of the public money affords an ample field for necessary inquiry ; we instruct your diligently to promote that inquiry ; and if such expenditure shall appear to have been profuse or corrupt, we expect you will use your utmost abilities to reform it in future.

When we see our coasts insulted and our trade plundered by pirates and hostile privateers, we lament that the present situation of Great Britain, environed by enemies, incapacitated our gracious sovereign from affording to his faithful subjects, of Ireland, that protection which we are confident he wishes to grant; and on that account, it is our earnest desire to see a few frigates speedily fitted out and employed, at the expence, of this kingdom, for the protection of the Irish trade, and under the command of the Irish government: this object we most warmly recommend to your attention, and instruct you to exert yourselves to promote it.—If new funds are wanted for this most salutary purpose, we conceive they will be amply produced by appropriating thereto so much as may be necessary of the new duties that are now to be laid on West-Indian and American produce.

The undeviating integrity which has marked your conduct in the House of Commons, entitles you to our fullest confidence; and assures us of that attention to these instructions which is due to their weight and importance.

We are encouraged to hope, that the present parliament will hold forth an eminent example of judicious determination, firmness and unanimity; which will secure our inestimable rights and privileges; add lustre to the dignity of the national assembly, and command the gratitude of the present and succeeding generations.——By the direction, and at the request of the Corporation and principal Inhabitants assembled in the Town-House.

GEORGE BLACK, Sovereign."

To these, and similar instructions and remonstrances, little attention was in general paid, and measures of a more decisive nature began now to be adopted. On the 28th of December

1781, assembled the officers and delegates of the Southern battalion of the 1st Ulster regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont, and having declared that they beheld with the utmost concern, the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of Ireland, by the majority of those whose duty it was to establish and preserve them, they invited every Volunteer association throughout the province of Ulster to send delegates to deliberate on the alarming situation of public affairs, and fixed on Friday the 15th of February 1782 for such assembly of delegates at DUNGANNON. The following resolutions were adopted, and the proceedings subsequent to this event are recorded in chronological order :—

“ ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

At a meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of Volunteers, of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on Friday the 15th of February, 1782.—**COLONEL WILLIAM IRVINE**, in the chair.

Whereas, it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions, on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men.

Resolved, unanimously,—That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

Resolved, unanimously,—That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, (with one dissenting voice only,)—That the powers exercised by the Privy Councils of both kingdoms, under, or under colour, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, unanimously,—That the ports of this country are by right open to *all* foreign countries not at war with the King, and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, (with one dissenting voice only,)—That a *Mutiny Bill, not limited* in point of duration, from session to session, is *unconstitutional, and a grievance.*

Resolved, unanimously,—That *the independence of Judges* is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, (with eleven dissenting voices only,)—That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

Resolved, (with one dissenting voice only,)—That the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed Address be signed by the Chairman, and published with these Resolutions.

Resolved, unanimously,—That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and,

as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.

The Lord Viscount Enniskillen,
Colonel Mervyn Archdall,
Colonel William Irvine,
Colonel Robert M'Clintock,
Colonel John Ferguson,
Colonel John Montgomery,
Colonel Charles Leslie,
Colonel Francis Lucas,
Colonel Thomas Morris Jones,
Colonel James Hamilton,
Colonel Andrew Thompson,
Lieutenant-Colonel C. Nesbitt,
Lieutenant-Colonel A. Stewart,
Major James Patterson,
Major Francis Dobbs,
Major James M'Clintock,

Major Charles Duffen,
Captain Jon. Harvey,
Captain Robert Campbell,
Captain Joseph Pollock,
Captain Waddel Cunningham,
Captain Francis Evans,
Captain John Cope,
Captain James Dawson,
Captain James Acheson,
Captain Daniel Eccles,
Captain Thomas Dickson,
Captain David Bell,
Captain John Coulson,
Captain Robert Black,
Rev. William Crawford,
Mr Robert Thompson.

Resolved unanimously.—That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

In consequence of the above resolution, the Committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.

Colonel Mervyn Archdall,
Colonel William Irvine,
Colonel John Montgomery,
Colonel Thomas Morris Jones,
Major Francis Dobbs,

Captain Francis Evans,
Captain James Dawson,
Captain Joseph Pollock,
Mr Robert Thomson.

Resolved unanimously.—That the Committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the Province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after

the dissolution of the present Parliamept, should such an event sooner take place.

Resolved, unanimously,—That the Court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British Empire, in such a manner, as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will *not consume any Wine of the growth of Portugal*, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said Wine, save and except the Wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British Empire.

Resolved, (with two dissenting voices only, to this and the following resolution,) That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

Resolved, therefore, that, as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the *relaxation* of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Resolved, unanimously, That the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Thos. Read, having joined a regiment of this Province, the 1st Newry regiment or Newry Legion, and petitioning to be received as part of this body, and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received.

Whereas a letter has been received by the Chairman of this meeting, from the united Corps of the county of Cavan, Col. Enery in the Chair, declaring their readiness to co-operate with their brother Volunteers, in every constitutional support of their rights.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the said united Corps of said county of Cavan, for their spirited resolution, and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be inclosed by the Chairman to Col. Enery, to be by him communicated to the said united Corps, and that they shall have a right, if they choose, to be associated with the corps represented at this meeting, to nominate four members to act with those already appointed as a Committee by the Delegates at this meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Capt. Richardson and the Dungannon Light Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Southern Battalion of the 1st Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic zeal, which, we are convinced, induced them to call this meeting:

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Col. William Irvine, for his particular propriety and politeness of conduct in the chair.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Capt. James Dawson, for his readiness in undertaking the office of Secretary to this meeting, and for his particular attention and ability in the laborious duty thereof.

*To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in both Houses
of Parliament.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our

Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

Signed by order,

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

IN COMMITTEE.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the corps of this province, not represented at the meeting held this day, be, and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting, and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing.

Resolved.—That such corps as may choose to join the said association, be, and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our secretary, Captain Dawson, Union-Lodge, Loughbrickland, who will lay the same before the chairman and committee.

(Signed by order)

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman"

March 1.—ADDRESS OF THE BELFAST BATTALION OF VOLUNTEERS TO TRAVERS HARTLEY, ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE CITY OF DUBLIN; WITH HIS ANSWER.

"At a Meeting of the BELFAST BATTALION, on Friday, the 1st of March, 1782.

The Rev. JAMES BRYSON, in the Chair.

Resolved, unanimously, That the following Address be transmitted by our Chairman, Major Brown, and Captains Cunningham and Bateson, to Travers Hartley, Esq. one of the Representatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.

SIR.—When you were called forth by your fellow-citizens to

stand as a candidate at the late election of a representative for the metropolis of the kingdom, we felt the greatest satisfaction. The invitation did honour to their discernment and wisdom, and no more than justice to your excellent and acknowledged character. When the attempt to send such a member to the House of Commons was crowned with success, through your perseverance, and the firmness, integrity, public virtue, and unconquerable independence of the electors, our satisfaction was raised into emotions of a more exalted nature: such emotions as the triumphs of struggling virtue must ever inspire.

As the patriotic conduct of your fellow-citizens has done honour to the metropolis, we hope that the illustrious example will convey instruction to the whole kingdom, and universally *excite that spirit of freedom and independence in the choice of the representative body, which alone can restore to us our injured rights, and preserve us from the destructive influence of senatorial influence and court dependence.*

Permit us therefore to congratulate you, Sir, to congratulate the city of Dublin, to congratulate the whole kingdom on this happy event; an event which has done you the greatest honour, added one man more of unsuspected virtue to the senate, and taught the nation how to struggle with success for liberty. May your parliamentary conduct reflect back on your constituents as much honour, as they have already conferred on you.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble Servants!

(Signed by order of the Belfast Battalion,)

JAMES BRYSON, Chairman, Chaplain 1st company.

JOHN BROWN, Major of Belfast battalion.

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM Captain 1st company.

RICHARD BATESON, Capt. White-House Volntrs.

To which MR HARTLEY returned the following answer.

To the Gentlemen composing the Belfast Battalion.

GENTLEMEN,

I do not wonder that a body of men formed not only for the protection of their country against foreign enemies, but for the constant assertion of its constitutional rights, should highly enjoy the triumph of the free and independent electors of the metropolis over the exertions of power and undue influence;—there is a sympathy between virtuous minds. The favourable idea which you have conceived of me, correspondent to that of my worthy fellow citizens, does me great honour. In acting a part agreeable to the sense of my constituents, which I shall ever invariably do, I shall be secure of your approbation, and that of every friend to his country throughout the whole kingdom. With the heart-felt satisfaction attending a consciousness of integrity, to find my conduct approved of by the wisest and best of my fellow subjects, will ever yield to me the highest enjoyment.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obliged

And obedient servant,

TRAVERS HARTLEY."

Dublin, 6th March, 1782.

March 1.—Address of the Belfast Volunteer Company to Travers Hartley, and the Free and Independent Electors of the City of Dublin, &c.

"At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, held at the Donegall Arms the first of March, 1782.—Lieutenant JOHN GALT SMITH, in the Chair.

Resolved, unanimously,—That the delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, who met at Dungannon the 15th of last month, are entitled to our warmest thanks for their conduct on that day, and we request they may accept of the same, as a tribute justly due to their wisdom, temper, spirit, and firmness, on that important occasion; and that the thanks of this corps be given to the gentlemen who represented us at that meeting for the propriety of their conduct, so perfectly coinciding with the sentiments and instructions of their constituents.

Resolved, unanimously,—That the following address to Travers Hartley, Esq. and the free and independent electors of the city of Dublin, be signed by the Chairman and published with these resolutions, and that the Chairman do enclose a copy of said address to Mr Hartley:

JOHN GALT SMITH, *Chairman.*

*To Travers Hartley, Esq. and the Free and Independent
Electors of the City of Dublin.*

GENTLEMEN,

At a time when the instructions of constituents are by so many of the representative body treated with contempt, when the delegate on great national questions presumes to act *contrary* to the directions of those who sent him, and from whom alone he derives his power; and when the mandate of a minister, not the interest of a nation, forms the only rule of conduct to so many of those who ought to guard the people's rights, we rejoice to see a man of known virtue, and incorruptible integrity, chosen a representative in parliament for the metropolis of the kingdom, we honour the wisdom, the perseverance, and the firmness of the electors, we revere the many virtues of the elected. With sanguine hopes we marked the

progress of the contest in which you have been engaged, your success has been answerable to our earnest wishes.—Accept then, on the auspicious occasion, the congratulations of the Belfast Volunteer Company, a body of men whose hearts, like your own, beat warm in your country's cause. We sincerely congratulate you, ourselves, and the nation, on the glorious triumph you have obtained over the undue influence exerted against you; and we offer you our warmest thanks for the noble struggle you have made in favour of *Freedom of Election*, the success which has crowned that struggle we hail as a happy omen, and hope your bright example will be followed by all the electors of Ireland.—We live in a county which, from its past conduct, merited to be well represented in the present parliament; and may we be no longer admitted among free citizens and free soldiers, if we do not strive to be better represented in the next. By order of the Belfast Volunteer Company.

JOHN GALT SMITH, *Chairman.*

To the Belfast Volunteer Company.

Mr HARTLEY's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,—In your truly patriotic Address, you have done me the honour to connect me with the free and independent Electors of the City of Dublin; the most honourable connection I can possibly have, and which by my conduct I shall be ever careful to preserve. Those virtuous citizens, as you justly observe, have set a bright example to their fellow-subjects throughout the kingdom worthy of their general imitation; they have manifested their sense of the importance of FREEDOM OF ELECTION, and their firmness in that great cause has been attended with suitable success; may your future ex-

ertions of a similar nature be attended with equal success.—It remains now for me to evince by my parliamentary conduct, that my professions to my fellow-citizens have been sincere, and to maintain in practice that doctrine, which I have always held in opinion, that *obedience to the instructions of constituents is the indispensable duty of representatives*. The very favourable opinion you have conceived of me personally, does me great honour; and you may be assured I set a just value on it. I have the honour to be,

your obliged and
obedient servant,

Dublin, March 6, 1782.

TRAVERS HARTLEY.

“ To Travers Hartley, Esq. one of the Representatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.

SIR,

We, the merchants and other principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, take this earliest opportunity to offer you our sincere congratulations on the happy event of your being elected a representative of the City of Dublin. We consider it as a proof of the freedom and independence of the electors of that city. We rejoice in it, as an addition to the wisdom and virtue of the senate; from the choice of such men we foresee the confirmation of all our national rights; and we behold it as a pledge, that the principles of trade, and facts regarding our commerce, shall be more clearly explained, and more fully stated to the commons of Ireland, than they ever can be, without the aid of men possessed of real commercial knowledge.

We most sincerely wish, that on every future occasion the rest of the kingdom may follow the illustrious example of the

city of Dublin, both in the uninfluenced wisdom of their choice, and the incorruptible freedom and independency of their proceedings,

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

Val. Jones, Chairman,	R. H. & A. Hyndman,	Thomas Lyle,
Thomas Sinclair,	Samuel Brown,	John Smith,
James Weir,	Brown, Cunningham &	Alexander Orr,
Thomas Hyde,	Co.	Robert Gordon,
Richard Bateson,	Annesly & Lilly,	William Magee,
W. & J. Brown,	Robert Getty,	James Magee,
Thomas Lyons,	Isaac Miller,	John Hay,
J. & J. Holmes,	Thomas Stewart,	John Luke,
W. Cunningham,	Robert Wallace,	John Craig,
Thomas Gregg,	John Ewing,	Michael Linn,
J. Campbell & Co.	Andrew Hyndman.	David M'Tier,
William Ramsey,	Alexander Arthur,	Thomas Milliken,
William Irvin,	Cunningham Gregg,	John Campbell,
James Hamill,	Samuel Ashmore,	Robert Thomson,
Hugh M'Ilwain,	Robert Carson,	Luke, Murphy, Haz-
William Seed,	John Neilson,	lett, & Co.
Robert Linn,	J. Henderson,	William Boyle,
Hercules M'Comb,	Archibald Scott,	Duke Berwick, & Co.
James Stevenson,	James Graham,	Robert Knox,
Alexander Armstrong,	Francis Taggart,	Robert Lylburn,
Hugh Crawford,	Patrick Gaw,	Walter Crawford,
James Pinkerton,	Joseph Stevenson,	Wilson, Joyce, &
James Ferguson,	Cavan & Seed,	Kennedy,
James Galt Smith,	Thomas Hardin,	James Ferguson,
Daniel Blaw,	William Bryson,	Robert Stevenson,
David Tomb,	James Park, Jun.	William Harrison,
Henry Joy,	Alexander Blackwell,	John Brown,
Samuel M'Tier,	James Park,	Nathaniel Wilson,
John Mathers,	John Bashford,	Robert Jay,
T. Bateson & Co.	Thomas Andrews,	John Carson,
T. Harding & Co.	M'Kedy & Stevenson,	John Clarke,
Stewarts, Thomson & Co	Crawford & Cunningham	James Bagge."

March 1.—"The Belfast Troop, the Belfast Battalion, and the Belfast Volunteer Company, paraded and fired three vol-

lies, to testify their joy at the triumph obtained by freedom and independence, over Court influence, venality and corruption, by the election of Mr Hartley. From parade they marched to the principal inn—drank Mr Hartley and the free and independent electors of the city of Dublin, and may their bright example be followed by the whole kingdom with equal success.—The Minority of both Houses of Parliament, and a speedy confirmation to the rights of Ireland.—The Delegates of the Ulster Volunteers, and may their example be universally followed.—With a few more patriotic toasts. And they agreed unanimously to address Mr Hartley and the free and independent electors of Dublin on the occasion.

The Merchants and Principal Inhabitants also assembled in the evening, and agreed unanimously to a similar address; and the evening concluded with a bonfire, illuminations, &c."

March 7.—MEETING OF THE INHABITANTS TO ADOPT THE DUNGANNON RESOLUTIONS, &c.

"To the Sovereign, and Burgesses, the Gentlemen; Clergy, Freeholders, and principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN,

As we conceive our fellow citizens, relations, and friends, the brave and virtuous Volunteers, the assertors of our rights and liberties, the protectors of our properties and lives, entitled to every countenance and support which the people at large can give; as we know not any better mode of affording that countenance and support, than by acceding to the resolutions entered into by their delegates, on the 15th of last month at Dungannon, and exerting every constitutional means in our power to render the same effectual; and as it is, in our opinion, a duty incumbent on the inhabitants of Belfast, the Capital of

Ulster, to be amongst the first in every measure tending to national good; We request your attendance at the Market-house, on Thursday next, at noon, to deliberate on these matters, and determine what is proper to be done on the occasion.

We are most respectfully,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient

Humble Servants,

James Ferguson,

Sinclair Kelburn,

James Carson,

Francis Hamilton,

Valentine Jones,

James Magee,

George Ferguson,

William Burgess,

James Bryson,

William Laird,

Thomas Stewart,

John Ewing,

John Mathers,

Alexander Orr,

Robert Wallace

John McCracken,

James Patterson,

Archibald Scott,

Thomas Sinclair,

John Campbell,

James Park,

Joseph Stevenson,

Patrick Gaw,

Robert Gordon,

James Crombie,

Samuel Ashmore,

James Carson.

Belfast, March 4, 1782.

TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST, March 7, 1782.

At a VERY numerous meeting of the inhabitants, called by public notice, dated the 4th instant, signed by 25 of the principal inhabitants, and published in the Belfast News-Letter.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Esq. in the Chair.

The requisition, calling the meeting and stating the business proposed for deliberation, being read by the Chairman; the Resolutions entered into by the Ulster Volunteers at Dungan-
non, on the 15th ult. were read paragraph by paragraph.

1st. *Resolved unanimously.*—That we highly approve of, and cordially accede to the said resolutions, as calculated to promote the just rights, and no more than the just rights of Ireland; as conceived with temper and moderation, yet animated with a spirit becoming men DETERMINED to be free.

2d. *Resolved unanimously.*—That the said Volunteers are entitled to our warmest thanks, which we request they may accept as a tribute justly due to their wisdom, temper and firmness on that important occasion.

3d. *Resolved unanimously.*—That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of the grievances in said Resolutions mentioned, and to co-operate with the said Volunteers, and all others who have acceded, or shall accede, thereunto, as well as with our fellow-electors and the people at large, by every constitutional means in our power, to render such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

4th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That we will, and we hereby do pledge ourselves, to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour; that we will, at every ensuing election, support those, and ONLY those, who have supported and will most solemnly and unequivocally engage to support us, in our pursuit of such redress.

5th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That the Right Hon^r and Hon. the minority in Parliament, who have supported our constitutional rights are entitled to our warmest thanks: that we honour, esteem, and revere them, as the guardians of our liberties and rights; that we most cordially approve of the Address to them published by the Ulster Volunteers; that it speaks our thoughts in language which cannot be mended, and therefore we desire to be considered as sincere subscribers to it.

6th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That the members of the house of Commons are the Representatives of, and derive their

power SOLELY from the PEOPLE; and that a denial of this principle by any of them, or a conduct directly contrary thereto, would be to abdicate the representation.

7th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That if any Irishman has been, or shall be, hardy enough to assert, that any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had, have, or ought to have a right to make laws to bind this realm, in ANY case whatsoever, every such man insults the Majesty of the King of Ireland, the dignity of its Parliament, and the whole body of its people, is an enemy to this kingdom, and ought to be *reprobated* as such by every friend of Ireland.

8th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That it be, and it hereby is, most earnestly recommended to all the inhabitants of this province, to assemble in their several towns and Parishes to deliberate on these matters, and in case they shall approve thereof, to enter into similar associations; as we are fully convinced that nothing is now wanting to establish and secure the freedom and prosperity of Ireland but the avowed union of its PEOPLE.

THOS. SINCLAIRE, CHAIRMAN."

March 14.—ADDRESS TO THE EARL OF DONEGALL, ON HIS ZEAL IN PROMOTING THE LAGAN NAVIGATION, &c.*

"At a very full meeting of the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of Belfast, called by public notice, and held at the Market-house, on the 14th of March, 1782.

VALENTINE JONES, Esq. in the Chair.

A letter from Charles Henry Talbot, Esq. to George Portis Esq. having been communicated to this meeting, by which

* The Lagan Navigation, or canal between Belfast and Lough Neagh, was commenced, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, in 1753. See the *Acts of Parliament relative to Lagan Navigation, Printed by Joseph Smyth, 1812.*

letter we are informed, that the Right Honourable the Earl of Donegall has engaged an able Engineer to come over here immediately and superintend the Lagan Navigation ; that his Lordship has determined to advance money sufficient entirely to complete the same, and to set apart such annual sum for that purpose, as may be requisite to finish the whole from hence to Lough Neagh in four years.

Resolved unanimously.—That we entertain the highest and most grateful sense of his Lordship's liberality and kind attention to the interest and welfare of this town, on this and many former occasions ; and that we deem it our indispensable duty, in the most respectful and most public manner, to offer to his Lordship our sincere and warmest thanks, for his many acts of munificence towards us, and above all, on this most important occasion, wherein the improvement and prosperity of his Lordship's town of Belfast, and his estate contiguous thereunto, as well as of the country in general, are so very deeply interested.

Resolved unanimously.—That the following Address be signed by the chairman, in the name of this meeting, and forwarded, with the foregoing and this resolution, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Donegall.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Donegall.

MY LORD.—We, the Merchants, Traders, and principal Inhabitants of your Lordship's Town of Belfast, deem it our indispensable duty to take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging your Lordship's most liberal intention, communicated by Charles Henry Talbot, Esq. of immediately sending over an able engineer to superintend the Lagan navigation, and of advancing money sufficient to complete the same from hence to Lough Neagh in four years. With gratitude we acknowledge the

many instances we have already experienced of your Lordship's generous attention to the prosperity of this town and neighbourhood; the magnitude and extent of the favour you are now pleased to hold forth to us, inspires our breasts with the highest sense of your Lordship's munificence; the advantages that must result from this great work, to the commerce and manufactures of this part of the kingdom, we contemplate with joy; and we trust that they will be remembered by posterity with gratitude. Permit us, my Lord, in this public manner, to return you our warmest acknowledgments for an instance of liberality hitherto unexampled in this kingdom, and to assure your Lordship, that by a wise improvement of the favours you have conferred, and are still continuing to confer upon us, we shall be ambitious to render ourselves worthy of them.—That your Lordship may live long to enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction of doing good, and of being the indulgent landlord of a grateful tenantry, is the ardent wish of

My Lord, your Lordship's

Most respectful and obedient Servants,

By the instruction, and in the name of the Inhabitants of Belfast,

VAL. JONES, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously.—That the chairman do, in the name of this meeting, inform Charles Henry Talbot, Esq. that we are fully sensible of the obligations we are under for his activity and diligence in bringing this great business to a state of such forwardness, as well as for those inclinations to promote Lord Donegall's interest, and the good of this town and estate (at all times inseparably united,) which first induced him to take an active part in this affair, and we request he may accept our thanks for the same.

Resolved unanimously.—That the address to Lord Donegall, and these Resolutions, be published in the Irish and English Papers.

VAL. JONES, Chairman."

"*Comparative View of the LINENS Shipped at Belfast and Newry from 25th March, 1781, to 25th March, 1782.*

From Belfast 4,196,714 Yards

From Newry 2,958,525 Ditto.

1,238,189."

April 6.—Address of the three Belfast Volunteer Companies to the LARNE INDEPENDENTS, on their secession from the same Volunteers.

"At a full meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, held on the 6th of April, 1782, for the annual election of officers——

Mr JAMES FERGUSON in the Chair.

The Resolutions of the Larne Independents, published in the Belfast News-Letter of yesterday, being read :

Resolved unanimously.—That this Company, originally formed upon, and uniformly governed by principles the most independent, view with singular pleasure and high approbation, every measure calculated to support, or, where lost, to restore that freedom and independence so essentially necessary to be maintained in *every* corps of the Volunteer Army, towards which, their being commanded only by men of independent principles, and invariably attached to the rights of Ireland, is, in our opinion, absolutely needful.

Resolved unanimously.—That our chairman do request the Larne Independents to favour us with their company at the ensuing review at Belfast, and at same time inform them, that as we presume they cannot yet be provided with camp equipage, this company will think themselves honoured in accommodating them during the same.

JAMES FERGUSON, Chairman.

To Mr THOMAS MOORE, Chairman of a Meeting of Privates of the Royal Larne Volunteers, held on the 2d April, 1782.

SIR.—We have observed in the Belfast News Letter, Resolutions of “a respectable meeting of privates of the Royal Larne Volunteers,” declaring a secession from that company, and the formation of a new one under the name of the **LARNE INDEPENDENTS**.

The exalted principle on which that secession is founded, claims at all times, but particularly “at this important crisis, when the spirit of the nation seems roused to a proper sense of its dignity,” the warm approbation of every corps determined like the Larne Independents to be free; and detesting every attempt to stifle the liberal sentiments of Freemen and Volunteers, on public measures.

As it cannot be expected the Larne Independents will be provided with camp equipage in time for the ensuing Belfast Review,—if it should be the intention of that company to attend, we should deem ourselves highly honoured by their accepting such accommodation on that occasion as is in the power of this company to provide.

Signed by order of the Belfast

First Volunteer Company,

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Chairman.

BELFAST BATTALION.

At a meeting of the Battalion, held on Tuesday, the 9th of April, 1782—Lieutenant Colonel BANKS in the Chair:

From various recent instances in this country, it appears expedient now to declare, that it is totally subversive of the spirit of Volunteer associations, that officers should, in any case regarding political measures, pretend to determine for their corps, or in any manner prevent or obstruct their free deliberations.

Resolved, therefore, unanimously.—That as no part of this Battalion ever has been, so it never shall be, bound in such cases, by any act which has not first been proposed to, deliberated on, and approved by the *Privates* of the several companies, or by the whole body in its collective capacity.

Resolved unanimously.—That the following Address be transmitted to Mr Thomas Moore, chairman of a meeting of *Privates* of the Royal Larne Volunteers, on the 2d of April, 1782; when they declared a secession from that corps, and the formation of a new one, under the name of the **LARNE INDEPENDENTS**.

SIR.—We behold with admiration the noble example exhibited by the Larne Independents to the community at large, by a public avowal of their abhorrence of certain “attempts to shackle their minds,” and to rob them of one of the highest privileges of their nature—the right of private judgment.

We are well assured that so spirited an effort of patriotic zeal in the town of Larne, will, at this era of Irish virtue, endear them to every good citizen, and particularly to the Ulster Volunteer Association; which they have honoured by the accession of a corps raised on the ruins of “a restraint” too ignominious “for the ranks of Freemen and Volunteers,” and fit only “for the stalls of asses or beasts of burden.”

We entertain the strongest hopes that in a short time not a single company will be found so servile and base as on any consideration to decline the honour of contributing to the approaching emancipation of this ancient kingdom—a kingdom whose loyalty can only be equalled by her unmerited distresses, and whose warmest wishes never extended beyond a complete enjoyment of the British constitution; of which no power on earth could, without evident tyranny, attempt to deny or divest her.

STEWART BANKS, Chairman.

With hearts full of gratitude, the Larne Independents return their unfeigned thanks to the gentlemen of the Belfast first Volunteer Company, Belfast Volunteer Company, and Belfast Battalion, for their flattering Addresses; and the two former in particular, for their polite and generous offer of accommodation during the intended review, which they with infinite pleasure accept.

They beg leave to assure those very respectable corps, that it gives them the most exalted satisfaction to find that their conduct has merited the approbation of gentlemen who have ever stood foremost in the cause of liberty, and in support of the rights of mankind, and to whose spirited example this long oppressed kingdom owes the means of her "approaching emancipation."

(Signed by order of the Larne Independents)

Larne, April 12, 1782.

JOHN WHITE, Secretary."

April 6.—*Address of the Committee of the Dungannon Delegates to the Electors and Members of Parliament in Ulster, on their duties, and the conduct to be pursued by them at the approaching General Election.*

" ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

By the subscribing Members of the Committee.

To the Electors and Members of Parliament in the Province of Ulster.

GENTLEMEN,

Delegated by the Volunteers assembled at Dungannon, we call on you to support the constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world that you at least *deserve to be free.*

Regard not the threats of landlords or their agents, when

they require you to fail in your duty to your country, to yourselves, to your posterity. *The first privilege of a man is the right of judging for himself*, and now is the time for you to exert that right. It is a time pregnant with circumstances, which revolving ages may not again so favourably combine. The spirit of Liberty is gone abroad, it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an accession of strength. The timid have laid aside their fears, and the virtuous sons of Ireland stand secure in their numbers. Undue influence is now as despised as it has ever been contemptible; and he who would dare to punish an elector for exerting the rights of a freeman, would meet what he would merit—public detestation and abhorrence.

Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not more in his power, and will not exert his utmost efforts for the emancipation of his country, because they can, at best, be the efforts of but *one* man, stands accountable to his God and to his country, to himself and to his posterity, for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth.

An upright House of Commons is *all* that is wanting, and it is in the power of the *Electors* to obtain it.—Vote only for men whose past conduct in parliament you and the nation approve, and for such others as will *solemnly pledge themselves* to support the measures which you and the nation approve.—Do your duty to your country, and let no consideration tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie, the greater duty to a less.

We intreat you in the name of the great and respectable body we represent.—We implore you by every social and ho-

nourable tie—We conjure you as Citizens, as Freemen, as IRISHMEN, to raise this long insulted kingdom, and restore to her her lost rights. One great and united effort will place us among the first nations of the earth; and those who shall have the glory of contributing to that event will be for ever recorded as the SAVIOURS of their country,

April, 6th, 1782.

William Irvine,	Alexander Stewart,	James Dawson,
Robert M'Clintock,	Francis Dobbs,	James Atcheson,
John Ferguson,	James M'Clintock,	Thomas Dickson,
Charles Powell Leslie,	John Harvey,	David Bell,
Francis Lucas,	Robert Campbell,	John Coulaon,
Thomas Morris Jones,	Joseph Pollock,	Robert Black,
Andrew Thompson,	Waddell Cunningham,	William Crawford,
Charles Nisbitt,	Francis Evans,	Robert Thomson."

April 27.—Address of the Belfast Volunteer Company to Henry Grattan, with his Reply.

" BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

On Parade, Saturday 27th April, 1782.

*Resolved, unanimously,—*That the following address to Mr Grattan be signed and forwarded by our Captain, and that the same be published in the Belfast Newspaper, and the Dublin Evening Post.

SAMUEL M-TIER."

" To HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

We sincerely thank you for your steady, uniform, and at last successful exertions in favour of the liberties of Ireland. To your animated and persevering endeavours, aided by those worthies who so nobly supported you in the glorious pursuit, we stand indebted for our emancipation from the intolerable

yoke of a foreign legislature.*—May Heaven preserve your invaluable life, long to watch over that liberty you so early and so firmly asserted, long to enjoy the satisfaction arising from the applause of admiring millions, and the still greater, proceeding from the consciousness of having deserved it.

We aim not to confer honour, but to derive it, by declaring to the world that we shall ever revere you as *The Deliverer of your Country*; and that whilst Ireland is a nation your name must be remembered with gratitude.

Those rights which you have laboured to establish, which the people have unanimously claimed, and which both Houses of Parliament have now declared, we are determined to support to the utmost, and never to yield but with our lives.

We rejoice that the time is arrived when the voice of the senate and the voice of the people is *one*. Our just claims thus enforced will not be refused, our rights will be established on a permanent basis, and our grievances fully redressed.—When that æra shall arrive, all jealousies will cease; Britain and Ireland, though distinct kingdoms, will become one people, inseparably united by interest and affection, by equal liberty and the same constitution. Our lives and fortunes will be gladly dedicated to the defence of our beloved Sovereign, and his illustrious house; Ireland will then cheerfully bleed for Britain, and sharing her liberty will share her fate.

SAMUEL M'TIER."

" To the Belfast Volunteer Company.

GENTLEMEN,

You feel with justice that the bonds of union are to be

* See the *History of Ireland*, printed by George Berwick, 1815. p. 202.

strengthened only by the removal of jealousy, and that Great Britain acquires power when Ireland obtains liberty.

We have ever wished to bleed in the general cause, and in securing our own liberty, have sought a safe opportunity to indulge the next most powerful affection of our mind, a sisterly regard for the British nation.

A unanimous parliament, breathing the sense of a united people, and founding its claim on uncontrovertible rights, must prevail. Your strong expressions in my favour, I am very sensible of, and shall never forget. Your principles give authority to your commendation.

I am, Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN."

BELFAST VOLUNTEER CLUB.

May 25.—"At a meeting of a number of the Volunteers of the different corps in the town of Belfast,

LIEUTENANT COLONEL BANKS, in the Chair.

Resolved,—That a Club be formed under the name of THE VOLUNTEER CLUB, of which all the members of the corps of 1745 and 1756 as well as those of the present time, are not only admissible, but considered as members,—and that as the sole intention of this meeting is to promote information and unanimity among Volunteers, this club shall be conducted on principles of frugality and moderation."

June 4.—*Celebration of the King's Birth Day.*

"Tuesday last, being his Majesty's birth-day, was celebrated here by all ranks and descriptions of men, with every possible demonstration of heartfelt joy.—Love and gratitude beamed

from every eye, and the consciousness of *our newly acquired freedom*,* made every individual exult in the pleasing scene.

The Belfast troop of light dragoons, and the Belfast volunteer company paraded in the morning in uniform, fully accoutred, the latter with knapsacks, and every man a day's provision.—After firing three volleys, they marched to the Deer Park [Cave-Hill] being joined in Donegall Street by the Belfast artillery company, who, upon their arrival in the park, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, the effect of which was amazingly grand, the report of each gun being so often reverberated among the rocks, that it seemed, during the whole time of the firing, to be one continued peal of loudest thunder. The Belfast volunteer company, having stacked their arms, pitched their tents on a fine flat on the mountain side, commanding a most beautiful and wide extended prospect, and then practised the plan of the ensuing review; after which the three corps, and a number of other gentlemen from the town, dined together on the grass, eating their plain simple repast with a degree of pleasure and satisfaction not to be found from the more delicate viands served up at the tables of luxury. After dinner the following toasts were drank in native whiskey, diluted with water issuing from one of the finest springs in the universe.

His Majesty, and long may he live the *patriot king* of a *free people*. Health and happiness to the Queen and Royal Family. That friend of liberty and of mankind, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [Duke of Portland.] General Lord Charlemont. The Volunteers of Ireland. Henry Grattan,

* Alluding to the law which had been lately enacted, placing the parliament of Ireland in the same state of *independence*, with respect to its legislation, as that of Britain. See *The History of Ireland, published by George Berriot, 1816, p. 202.*

and the people of Ireland. The Ministry, and the people of Great Britain. Lord Keppel, and the British flag. The brave Admiral Rodney, and his gallant and victorious fleet. Wooden walls to Ireland. All those distinguished Senators who have so ably and successfully asserted the rights of Ireland. *Freedom of election, short parliaments, and an equal representation of the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland.* May Britain and Ireland ever share each other's fate. The humane, virtuous, and steady General Conway, and the British army. General Burgoyne, and the army of Ireland. The 19th of June, 1215. The 15th of February, 1782. The 16th of April, 1782. May 27th, 1782. The Dungannon Delegates. May the harmony between Great Britain and Ireland be as lasting as it is now cordial and complete. May the Island of Saints never give bread to political sinners. *The Protestant interest, and universal toleration.* Liberty to all mankind. A speedy and cordial reconciliation between Great Britain and North America. May a successful war soon terminate in a lasting and honourable peace. The Volunteers of Britain. A speedy and eternal death to corruption, that honest frugality may support national generosity. The glorious memory of King William. The memory of William Molyneux, the first asserter of Irish rights. Lord Donegall, and the town of Belfast. Colonel Lord Donegall, and the Belfast battalion. May that hour in which we part with our liberties be the last in our lives. May this anniversary be celebrated through a length of years in Great Britain and Ireland, with grateful hearts and unfeigned joy.

The tents were then struck, and the whole marched back to town in the evening, manœuvring and firing all the way.

On Tuesday last the Belfast first volunteer company and Belfast Union paraded and fired, in honour of the King's birth day."

Although the British Act of the 6th of Geo. I. had been repealed, yet it was now contended that sufficient security was not thence derived to the independence of the Irish legislature. The claim of *right*, in the British Parliament, to enact Laws for Ireland, still remained in full force. An EXPRESS RENUNCIATION of this claim was *now loudly called for*, in order to give complete security to Ireland: It passed, at length, unanimously, in the British parliament, on the 22d of January, 1783, to the great joy of the nation.

June 27.—ADDRESSES OF THE BELFAST 1st VOLUNTEER COMPANY, TO HENRY GRATTAN, & HENRY FLOOD, RECOMMENDING AN EXPRESS RENUNCIATION BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, OF ALL LEGISLATIVE CLAIMS OVER IRELAND.

“ At a meeting of the Belfast first Volunteer Company, on the 27th of June, 1782, the following Addresses were unanimously agreed to.

TO COLONEL HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR.—The grateful feelings of a Volunteer corps, which claims the honour of being the first association formed on the principle of general defence, will not, we hope, be unacceptable.— You have the distinguished merit of early conceiving, that the period was arrived when Ireland might demand her rights; and not far distant when she might secure them. The greatness of the idea marks the enlargement of your soul; and your unwearied perseverance in a succession of years and a variety of forms, to realise that great idea, is the clearest proof of your incorruptible integrity and unspotted patriotism. Doubts having been entertained, which, in our opinion are well founded, whether the mere repeal of the 6th of George I. by the parlia-

ment of Britain, is in itself a sufficient renunciation of the power formerly exercised over this kingdom; we apprehend it would tend to general satisfaction, were the legislature of Ireland to enact a law similar to the late addresses to his Majesty; as its receiving the assent of a King in whom the two crowns are united, would, in our opinion, be an additional security to those others, in the acquisition of which you have already with so much ability and perseverance assisted. If the idea meet your approbation (which from some expressions of yours in the House of Commons we have reason to hope,) we cannot doubt your willingness to bring it forward.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your faithful humble Servants.

(Signed by order)

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Chairman.

July 17, 1782.

THE FIRST BELFAST COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN.—I have delayed to return an answer to your address, that I might have an opportunity of giving it the fullest consideration.

I have done so—I am sorry to differ from you—I conceive your doubt to be ill founded.

With great respect for your opinions, and unalterable attachment to your interest, I adhere to the latter.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

TO COLONEL HENRY FLOOD.

SIR.—Your unequalled abilities, your unrivalled eloquence, your knowledge, which seems bounded only by the limits which

the author of our nature has prescribed to the greatest of our kind, and the sacrifices you have made to serve your country, oblige us to look up to you as one of the first of men. We have seen your remarks on the repeal of the 6th of George I. which perfectly coincide with our sentiments; and we thank you for the clear and extensive view you have given us of that subject. In your unremitted vigilance and attention to the final adjustment of our constitution, and of our commercial rights, we place the highest trust; as your great natural endowments mark you out as a man from whose wisdom and penetration we have much to hope.

Let not the popularity of any administration, however great its merits, tempt you to abate your watchfulness over its conduct.—If Ireland is ever to obtain the blessings of a constitution completely free, this is probably the moment; and too much circumspection cannot possibly be used to found that settlement on so broad a base as will prevent its being in future easily disturbed.

Even the popularity of the present ministry, and our confidence in its justice, may lead to a neglect of those wise securities, the want of which might in a future administration, less attached to the rights of human nature, be ruinous to the freedom of this kingdom.

We have the honour to be

Your faithful humble servants,

(Signed by order,)

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, *Chairman.*

To which Address the following Answer was received.

“ To the Belfast First Volunteer Company.

Fannlay, July 6, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your address, and am happy

to have the honour of coinciding with you in opinion as to the inadequacy of a simple repeal ; as also in a wish to mix every vigilance as to your rights, with every duty to our Sovereign, and with every respect to his ministers. Could construction have satisfied us, we might have been satisfied before. But we sought for the certainty of express law, and we have not attained it ; and surely it were never enough to be lamented, when the Sovereign, the Parliament, and the Nation of Great Britain were prepared to gratify your utmost wishes, if we were to forfeit our security by any failure of our own.

The dignity of public feeling has communicated an exaltation and energy to your style to which my humble efforts are, I fear, too unequal. Such however as they are, they are wholly at your service. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient Servant,

HENRY FLOOD.

At a Meeting of the Belfast First Volunteer Corps on Parade, July 3, 1782,

Resolved unanimously, That the Right Hon. HENRY FLOOD be, and he hereby is admitted *a member of this corps* ; from the high sense we entertain of his transcendent abilities as a Senator, and the decided part he has taken in favor of the rights of Ireland.

To the Right Hon. HENRY FLOOD.

We do not pretend to confer honours on you, loaded as you are with the admiration of the world. We mean only to borrow honour from you, and to render our sense of your vigilance and patriotism as acceptable as possible.

Permit us, therefore, Sir, to consider you a member of a corps, the first in Ireland that armed on the principle of general defence.

Signed by order,

DAVID TOMB, Lieutenant.

" To the Belfast First Volunteer Company.

GENTLEMEN,

It is difficult for me to express the satisfaction I receive from your redoubled approbation. You render BELFAST more dear to me than ever ; and I have always honoured her as an eminent seat of commercial and constitutional spirit, and as the fruitful parent of men, worthy to be called so, by being such as you. I accept, with many thanks, of the honour of your enrollment, and am, Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your most faithful

And obedient Servant,

July 8. 1782.

HENRY FLOOD."

July, 8.—ADDRESS OF THE SECEDING CONGREGATION OF BELFAST TO MESSRS O'NEILL AND CORRY, WITH THEIR ANSWERS.

" To the Right Hon. JOHN O'NEILL, and the Hon. ISAAC CORRY, Esqrs.

GENTLEMEN,

We, the ministers, elders, and other members of the seceding congregation of Belfast, animated with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, beg leave to offer you our most humble and thankful acknowledgments for your very generous protection of the body to which we belong, by presenting and supporting our petition to parliament, *for relief respecting the legal form of*

making oath ; introducing a bill for that purpose, and carrying it successfully through the Honourable House of Commons.—Sensible that the favourable ear which the Honourable House of which you are members have given to our petition, is entirely owing, under God, to your influence and exertions, and that the prosperous issue of our application to parliament must in a great measure depend on the same: relying therefore on your goodness, of which you have given us the most convincing proofs, we beg leave to indulge the pleasing hope, that the same influence and endeavours which you have already exerted with so great attention and efficacy, will not be wanting to promote the success of the bill, which naturally claims the patronage of its authors, with the other branches of the legislature. And if, through the divine blessing on your efforts, and the liberality of a parliament to whom we look up with confidence, as to the undoubted guardian of civil and religious liberty, we shall be so happy as to obtain the object of our petition—the granting of which, we humbly presume, could not prove the smallest detriment to the nation or any individual—we shall receive the favour with the most grateful hearts, and ever regard it as a binding obligation to demean ourselves as we have always done from principle, like loyal and dutiful subjects. But whether your efforts for obtaining our wishes shall succeed or prove abortive, we shall ever consider your claim to our gratitude to be in either case the same; and we shall always rejoice in every opportunity of shewing, that we are, with truth, and the profoundest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

Most obedient,

And most Humble Servants,

(SUBSCRIBED BY MORE THAN 50 NAMES.)

Belfast, 8th July, 1782.

*To the Minister, Elders, and other Members of the Seceding
Congregation of Belfast.*

GENTLEMEN.—We are much honoured by your Address, and shall be happy to see the bill brought by us into the House of Commons, in pursuance of your petition, meet with the approbation of the other branches of the legislature: and we trust that the liberality of the parliament will approve of a measure not unconstitutional nor unprecedented, which will contribute to the satisfaction of so large a body of loyal and peaceable subjects.—We have the honour to be, with great esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servants,

JOHN O'NEILL,
ISAAC CORRY."

" 1782, July 15.—A party of the Belfast Battalion, and another of the Belfast Volunteer Company, "beat up for recruits for the navy."

July 18.—" At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, held at the town-house on Thursday, 18th July, 1782.

MR NATHANIEL WILSON in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously.—That an account of the late very extraordinary bill introduced by the Earl of Abingdon into the British House of Lords, this corps will not enlist, or in any manner countenance the raising any part of the 20,000 men voted for the service of Great Britain by the Irish parliament, until the rights of Ireland, with respect to her external, as well as her internal legislation, be fully ascertained."

July 22.—At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, a declaration was read, expressive of their dissatisfaction at the simple repeal, and of the absolute necessity of " an Irish law de-

claratory of the rights of Ireland, of the independency of our parliament, and of their exclusive right to external as well as internal legislation." It was adopted as the declaration of the company, on the 25th of July, ROBERT STEVENSON in the chair, and approved of on the 28th following, by the Belfast troop of light dragoons, FRANCIS JORDAN in the chair. On the 31st, a spirited Address to the same purpose, from the Belfast 1st company to the corps to be reviewed at Belfast on that day, was published; but it is too long for insertion in this place.

Wednesday, July 31, 1782, the annual review commenced, and was concluded on Friday evening: the camp was under the command of the Right Hon. John O'Neill, and the garrison under that of Colonel Robert Stewart.—The review was honoured with the presence of Henry Flood and Lord Pembroke.

Sept. 9.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY, RELATIVE TO THE MEASURE SET ON FOOT BY GOVERNMENT OF RAISING FENCIBLE REGIMENTS IN IRELAND, WITH THEIR ADDRESS TO HENRY FLOOD, AND HIS REPLY.

“TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST.

At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, called by public notice for the purpose of declaring their sentiments relative to the measure of raising Fencible regiments in Ireland, on the 9th of September, 1782,

MR WILLIAM SINCLAIRE in the Chair.

The resolutions entered into by the County of the town of Galway Independent corps of Volunteers, at the Tholsel in Galway on the 1st instant, were read and considered paragraph by paragraph, and are as follows :

1st. Resolved unanimously.—That the defence of this kingdom

cannot be so well secured as when entrusted to those who are most interested in her safety.

2d. *Resolved unanimously.*—That the Volunteers of Ireland are most interested in her safety, and must be considered her most faithful protectors.

3d. *Resolved unanimously.*—That we understand a number of regiments are to be raised under the title of Fencible Regiments, to be supplied with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, and, after a certain date, to be paid by government.

4th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That we consider the raising those regiments without even the sanction of parliament, to be a measure not justified by necessity, the idea of which must have been suggested by the people unacquainted with, or inimical to our constitution.

5th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That it would be much more constitutional to entrust the defence of this kingdom to the Volunteers, whose rise and fall are inseparably connected with the fate of Ireland, and who are themselves sufficient to protect her against all foreign and domestic enemies, than to encumber the nation with the additional weight of new-raised mercenaries, who may become DANGEROUS, but whose assistance will never be of material advantage.

6th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That we shall consider any Volunteer who shall accept of a commission in any regiment of Fencibles to be raised in Ireland, justly entitled to our severest censure.

7th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That as we have reason to apprehend, that the scheme of raising these Fencible regiments is calculated to lessen the force of the Volunteer army, we earnestly entreat our brethren, the Volunteers of Ireland, to declare, in the speediest and most public manner, their sentiments on this alarming occasion.

A motion being made, that the said resolutions of the Galway Volunteers do meet our highest approbation, that they speak our sentiments, and therefore we adopt them and make them our own. The question was separately put upon each of the said resolutions, and carried in the affirmative as follows: No. 1, 2, 3, and 5, unanimously—No. 4 and 7, one dissident to each; and No. 6, two dissidents.

Resolved, unanimously.—That our Chairman do, by letter directed to Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Blake, at Galway, convey to the Galway Volunteers a copy of our foregoing resolutions, and at same time present to said volunteers our sincere thanks for their very proper, wise, and spirited resolutions on this very extraordinary and alarming occasion.

Resolved, (three dissident,)—That the following address to Colonel Henry Flood be forwarded by our Chairman, and published with those resolutions.

WILLIAM SINCLAIRE, *Chairman*.

To Colonel HENRY FLOOD.

SIR.—Though we trust that the intentions of Great Britain are liberal and sincere, yet we are decidedly of opinion, that the simple repeal of a declaratory law is no security against a future revival of that system of foreign tyranny which so long oppressed this injured nation, and that an *unsolicited* renunciation of the principle, in express words, is the only unequivocal proof of sincerity that Britain can give.

Deeply interested in Ireland's welfare, and anxious to have all ground of present jealousy or future contest removed, we ardently wish to see the FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE of our much loved country established on a solid and permanent basis by an IRISH BILL OF RIGHTS, instead of resting, as at

present, on the slender foundation of *disputed* construction, and *dubious* implication.

Possessed of those sentiments, we view with gratitude and admiration the man whose integrity could not be warped, whose wisdom could not be deceived, and who, though almost single, boldly stood forth in the critical moment, the *REAL* assertor of the nation's rights.

By resigning one of the most lucrative offices of the state, rather than co-operate with administration in their hostile attempts against your country, you have incontestibly proved your sincerity.

Accept then, Sir, our warmest thanks.—Persevere in the glorious cause you have undertaken.—Be assured of our confidence.—Be assured of our support.—Every uninfluenced Irishman will support you.—Success must crown your endeavours; and we pray you may live long to enjoy that grateful tribute, the applause of your admiring countrymen.

By order of the Belfast Volunteer Company,
WILLIAM SINCLAIRE, *Chairman.*"

COLONEL FLOOD'S ANSWER.

"To the Belfast Volunteer Company.

GENTLEMEN.—No man has a greater confidence in the liberality of Great Britain than myself, and I am ready to contemplate the conduct of her ministers with every indulgence. Yet I perfectly agree with you, that an express and permanent recognition of our rights hath not been obtained, and that the giving it is the only unequivocal proof of sincerity. As such I have sought, and shall continue to seek it; nor am I afraid to accept of your confidence, because I will not betray it.

I embrace the first opportunity which my return to Ireland

affords me of transmitting my answer, and assuring you that I
m, Gentlemen,

Your very faithful,

And most obedient humble servant,

HENRY FLOOD."

October 5.—*Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Belfast on the subject of British Renunciation, and the Feasible Regiments.*

" BELFAST TOWN MEETING.

At a numerous meeting of the Inhabitants regularly convened by public notice, and held in the Town House the 5th of October 1782,

THOMAS LYONS, Esq. in the Chair ;

The requisition calling the meeting and stating the business proposed for deliberation being read by the Chairman, the following resolutions were agreed to:—

1. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That the Crown of Ireland being an Imperial Crown, and this kingdom a Free Sovereign Independent State, the rights and liberties of the people ought not to rest on the act or acts of any foreign legislature ; none such having any power or authority of any kind whatever, either externally or internally, over this realm ; for which reasons, the interference of the British Parliament is extra-judicial, and of course inadequate.

2. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That we cannot therefore consider the repeal by the British Parliament of their act claiming a right to bind Ireland as any security for our liberties, but only as an apology for their former usurpation ; which apology would have been still more complete and satisfactory, had a renunciation of the principle accompanied the repeal of the declaration, as that would have been the strongest proof of

the sincerity of our sister kingdom—and on that principle *only* such a renunciation would still be pleasing and grateful to us.

3. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That it is our decided opinion, that an ample and comprehensive Irish Bill of Rights, passed by our Parliament and assented to by our King, is not only highly proper, but absolutely necessary, both as a solemn record to posterity of the restoration of Irish freedom, and as the best security thereof against future violation.

4. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That we highly approve of the liberality of our Representatives in granting 5000 men of our establishment as an aid to our sister kingdom; convinced with them, that this country was, is, and will be sufficiently protected, by the spirit, number, and discipline of its Volunteer army.

5. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That no change has since happened to increase our danger from foreign enemies, or to lessen our security.

6. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That we cannot therefore consider the raising of Fencible Regiments, without the consent or sanction of Parliament, in any other light than as an insult to our Parliament, and as an INFAMOUS JOB, calculated to reward the supple TOOLS of administration, at the expence of a nation they had laboured to deceive; to seduce members of parliament from the duty they owe to their constituents; to defeat that scheme of retrenchment we were taught to expect, as the pay of the 5000 men spared to Great Britain might have been better applied to lessen the expences of a nation already burthened by too many useless establishments; to prevent the enlisting of the 20,000 seamen promised by our parliament to Great Britain, though it must be evident that the manning of one ship of the line would be of more real

service to the common defence and benefit of the empire, than the raising of fifty fencible regiments; to disunite, to weaken, and, were it possible, even to annihilate the Volunteer army, those glorious independent defenders of their country, and to introduce in their place a *mercenary force*, which the experience of ages has proved *baneful to the liberties of mankind*—and to increase the influence of the crown, already much too great; for even if an additional military force had been necessary, it had surely been much more regular and economical to have completed the regular regiments on this establishment, where no new commissions would have been necessary,—but then, indeed, no new source of corruption would have arisen, which was no doubt deemed a sufficient reason not to adopt that measure.

7. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That we therefore think it a duty we owe to ourselves and to our country, to reprobate this invidious attempt in the strongest manner, and to express our detestation of it in the most unequivocal terms; to declare that we will, by every means in our power, discountenance and discourage the raising of fencibles in our district; that we will hold in contempt and abhorrence every man who shall engage in any fencible corps as officer or private, or who shall in any degree aid or abet the raising thereof; that we will hold no intercourse or communication with such men, whom we shall deem unworthy the name of Irishmen, and enemies to their country.

8. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That it was with great pleasure and satisfaction we beheld the cordiality that subsisted between our armed citizens and the regular army—and were not a little surprised to find a new species of military force instituted under the name of fencible regiments, in which the former regulation of honours is entirely inverted, and young un-

fledged soldiers invested with rank, without passing through the customary progress, to the prejudice of a number of veteran officers, whose standing and character in the regular army marked them out as much more eligible for such employments.

9. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That our abhorrence and detestation of fencible regiments is in no degree lessened by their being now called provincial regiments.

10. That we will petition parliament, and in the most pointed terms instruct our own representatives, to exert their utmost endeavours to procure an ample and comprehensive Irish Bill of Rights,—to refuse any provision for fencible or provincial regiments, and to impeach the advisers of that unpopular, pernicious, and detested measure.

11. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That we shall consider such members of parliament, and *only* such, entitled to our support at future elections, as shall exert their utmost abilities to gratify the people of Ireland by procuring such Bill of Rights, by refusing such provision, and by impeaching such advisers.

12. *Resolved, unanimously*,—That our Chairman, Messrs. Waddell Cunningham, William Brown, Robert Thomson, Henry Joy, Jun. James Bryson, William Sinclair, and David Tomb, or any five of them, be a committee to prepare a petition or petitions to parliament, and instructions to our Representatives, agreeable to the resolution; the same to be reported at a town meeting previous to the next session of Parliament.

13. *Resolved unanimously*,—That it be, and it hereby is most respectfully, but at the same time most earnestly recommended to all the inhabitants of this province, to assemble without delay in their several counties, cities, towns, and parishes, to deliberate on these matters, and if they shall approve thereof to enter into similar associations; perhaps, at a

moment so critical, and on an occasion so urgent, we may not be deemed too presumptuous should we extend our respectful but earnest recommendation to all the inhabitants of Ireland.

THOS. LYONS, Chairman.

Mr Lyons having left the Chair:

Resolved unanimously.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for his very proper conduct in the Chair."

Resolutions of a similar nature were entered into by the six corps of the Belfast Battalion, on the 7th of the same month, Colonel BANKS, in the chair.—But those of the 5th were far from being embraced with unanimity by all the inhabitants.—On the 11th, a protest against them was published, signed by George Black, John Holmes, Alexander Halliday, John Alexander, Charles Brett, Samuel M'Tier, Joseph Wallace, Richard Seed, James Ferguson, William Bristow, and 32 others. In a short time, two addresses were published, signed by a numerous body of the inhabitants, calling on the *Protesters* to declare *their* opinion on the subject, but it does not appear that the controversy proceeded any farther.

PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE ERECTION OF THE WHITE-LINEN-HALL.

"Town-House, Belfast, November 15, 1782.

At a numerous Meeting of the Linen Drapers and other principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Belfast, called by public notice, for the purpose of taking under consideration the establishment of a market for White Linens, in the Town of Belfast.

GEORGE BLACK, Esq. Sov. in the Chair.

1st. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That it appears to us that the establishment of a White Linen Market in the North of Ireland would be attended with great advantages to the Linen Trade.

2d. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That the town of Belfast appears to us the most eligible situation for such a market.

3d. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That we will give every aid and encouragement in our power towards erecting a Linen-Hall amply sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of the White Linen Trade of the Kingdom, and towards providing every requisite for establishing such a market; and that we have every reason to be convinced that Lord Donegall will with his usual munificence, give very great encouragement to the same.

4th. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That a subscription be opened for the purpose of erecting a Linen-Hall in this town, and that every present or future subscriber shall have a vote in the expenditure of the money, in the appointment of such committees and officers as shall be found needful for carrying those resolutions into effect, and in every other other business relative thereunto.

5th. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That the Sovereign, Messrs Waddell Cunningham, John Holmes, John Alexander, and John Brown,—Waring-street; Robert Thomson, John Ewing, and Thomas Stewart,—Castle-street; John Campbell, James Patterson, and Henry Joy, or any five of them, be a committee to represent the merchants of Belfast at the meeting of Linen Drapers at Armagh, on the 2d of December next: and said committee are hereby instructed to consider of ways and means for immediately establishing a Discounting-Office in the

town, for the accommodation of the linen merchants who may attend the white linen market here.

6th. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That the committee be instructed to write to the neighbouring towns, to invite their attendance at the meeting in Armagh.

Adjourned till this day se'nnight, at same place, at noon.

GEORGE BLACK, Chairman.

The sovereign having left the chair, and William Stewart, Esq. having taken the same:—

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the sovereign of Belfast for calling us together, and for his very proper conduct in the chair.

WILLIAM STEWART.

Subscriptions for building a Linen-Hall for the sale of white linens in the town of Belfast, pursuant to the resolutions entered into at the town-house on the 15th of November, 1782.

	£.		£.
William Stewart	200	Hugh M'Ilwain	100
John Russell	200	James Magee	100
William Legg	200	John Elliott	100
Robert Stewart	200	Robert Linn	100
Francis Turnly	200	Valentine Jones	100
John Barclay	200	John Cunningham	100
W. Cunningham	200	Hugh Crawford	100
John & James Holmes	200	Alexander Halliday	100
John Hamilton	200	Robert Apsley	100
Thomas Lyons	200	William Burgess	100
William Stevenson	100	Thomas Jameson	100
Richard & William Bateson	200	James Murphy	100
John Henderson	200	Robert Knox	100
James Ferguson	100	John Murdoch	100
Thomas Greg	100	Robert Getty	100
James Ferguson	100	James Graham	100

William Irvin	100	Thomas M'Cabe	100
Robert Bradshaw	200	James Suffern	100
John Ewing	200	Mary Blizard	100
John Stevenson	100	Thomas Major	100
Samuel Allen	100	James Weir	100
Hugh Allen	100	Alexander Stewart	100
Robert Thomson	100	David Dunn	100
John Alexander	100	Henry Haslett	100
Samuel Hyde	200	John Craig	100
Thomas Stewart	200	William Boyle	100
Henry Joy	100	Thomas Miliken	100
Robert Joy	100	Hercules M'Comb	100
Gilbert M'Ilveen	100	Thomas Lyle	100
Thos. Andrews & Co.	100	David Tomb	100
Patrick Gaw	100	Thomas Hardin	100
Stewart Banks	200	James & John Ferguson	100
Charles Roberts	100	Cunningham Greg	100
John Campbell & Co.	200	Robert Gordon	100
Alex. Orr	100	J. Mattear	100
Daniel Blow	100	Thomas Sinclair & sons	200
John & James Luke	200	Achinleck, Dinamore & Co.	200
Wilson, Joyce & Kennedy	200	Archibald Scott	100
Edward Brice	100	William Anderson	100
M'Kedy & Stevenson	200	David Watson	100
David M'Cormick	100	Jacob Hancock	100
John Bashford	100	John Hancock	100
Robert Stevenson	100	Henry Bell	100
Samuel Brown	100	William Sharman	200
Wm. & John Brown & Co	200	Jacob Hancock, jun.	50
John Brown	100	Robert Burden	50
George M. Portis	200	William M'Canee	50
Samuel Ashmore	100	Robert Johnston	50
Charles Brett	100	Nathaniel Magee	50
Alexander Backwell	100	Joseph Garner	50
John Galt Smith	100	John Burden	50
John M'Cracken	100	John Mathers	100
Joseph Stevenson	100	Robert M'Cleary	100
John Smyth	100	John Bea	100
John & Robert Scott	100	Annesley & Lilly	100
Robert Lylburn	100	R. & W. Simms	100
Neilson, Hyndman, & Co	100	Alexander Sutherland	100
John Buchanan	100	Roger Mulholland	100
Hugh Graham	100	William M'Canee	50

William Wilson	100	Patrick M'Kinty	50
William Bryson	100	James Templeton	50
Robert Moore	100	M'Kain & Blizard	50
Stewart Beattie	100	William Laird	50
John Montgomery	100	Michael Harrison	50
James Park & Son	100	John Hay	50
Robert & James Wilson	100	Isaac Miller	50
Margaret M'Tear	100	Conway Carleton	50
James Sheridan	100	John Ferguson	50
James Patterson	100	Her. Heyland	50
Robert Scott	100	Thomas Clonnis	50
James Carson	100	James Crombie	50
Rowley Osborne	100	John Russell	50
Margaret M'Quoid	100		
Berry Yelverton	300	Total	£.17,550
Henry M'Ca	100		

Nov. 25.—ADDRESS OF THE BELFAST FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANY TO LORD VISCOUNT BEAUCHAMP, ON OCCASION OF HIS "LETTER" TO THAT CORPS, ON THE SUBJECT OF BRITISH RENUNCIATION, &c.—*Printed in Dublin, 1782. (39 pages 8vo.)*

"At a meeting of the Belfast First Volunteer Company, the following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To the Right Hon. LORD VISCOUNT BEAUCHAMP.

The flattering notice your Lordship has been pleased to take of an Address from our corps to the military associations in this part of the kingdom, has made a most grateful impression on our minds; whilst the great truths you have unanswerably established, reflect equal honour on the knowledge and exalted feelings of their illustrious assessor.

We are happy that our early ideas of British renunciation had the sanction of an English nobleman of your Lordship's comprehensive talents, and that they are not only the ideas of a particular body, but of the people at large; who conceive an explicit disavowal by Great Britain of the unfounded claims

of a right to legislate for this kingdom to be the only certain testimony of sincerity, and ardently desire it "as a firm compact which will bind the two nations to each other for ever; to which each may appeal, and which can never be mistaken." When Great Britain shall thus have evinced a liberal, wise, and just policy, we humbly presume that an Irish Bill of Rights will then secure a happy and permanent connection between two islands, which from this æra can only remain in friendship on the basis of perfect political equality.

The inhabitants of our sister country are conscious, that in casting off shackles which stamp their wearers slaves, our army of citizens, as well as every other description of our freemen, aimed only at a complete enjoyment of a FREE CONSTITUTION, to which they were by charter and birth amply entitled;—they are confident that this demand of our rights, which our parliament declared could only be surrendered with their lives, was made by a nation whose attachment to England no length of suffering had destroyed, and whose steady affection, increasing with the public calamities, has served in some degree to support the threatened fabric of the empire.

It is pleasing to learn from an authority so respectable as that of your Lordship, that "Great Britain, willing to concede the substance, never meant to dispute about the mode." We therefore beg leave to acquaint you, that there is no member of the British Senate to which the attention of Ireland is so universally turned as your Lordship on this interesting occasion; and we intreat your Lordship, on behalf of ourselves and our country, to take the earliest opportunity which the approaching session of the British parliament will afford of moving for a law expressly renouncing all claim of binding this kingdom, either externally or internally;—an act which will, in human probability, preserve the connection between

the two Imperial Crowns for many ages ; at the same time that it will transmit your Lordship's name to future generations, as a friend of the rights of mankind, and of the solid interests of every branch of the British empire.

Your Lordship has well expressed the danger to which we are exposed by the wishes of weak men to divide a force they could not break. This vain wish our administration has manifested by the most flattering measure that was ever employed to deceive a loyal, unsuspecting nation. The name of *Fencibles*, and the more deceitful one of *Provincial Regiments*, were held out to seduce the unwary, to corrupt unprincipled volunteer officers, and to influence indigent senators,—while the standing regiments were not filled up, the sense of parliament was not attended to, and the making good our engagements in favour of the British navy was, in a moment of imminent peril, materially obstructed. We hope, however, that the spirit of a generous community, which has completely taken the alarm, will not only retard, but finally prevent a *hired militia* from superseding the voluntary unpaid *troops of the constitution*.

The universal applause of an admiring nation will, we hope, urge your Lordship to act the glorious part of a mediator between the two countries, by moving for an express renunciation, which will give additional energy to the obligations already conferred on your Lordship's faithful and obliged servants.

Signed by order of the Company,

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, *Chairman.*"

Similar Addresses were transmitted to Lord Beauchamp from the Belfast Volunteer Company, the Light Dragoons, and the Union Volunteers ; and on the 6th of January 1783, a farther explanation of their sentiments was addressed to his Lordship by the First Volunteer Company.

1783. March 1.—CENSURE OF THE BELFAST LIGHT DRAGOONS, ON THE UNAUTHORISED APPOINTMENT OF LORD CHARLEMONT TO THE OFFICE OF REVIEWING-GENERAL, BY THE DUNGANNON DELEGATES.

“ At a meeting of the Belfast Light Dragoons,——

JOHN BURDEN, Esq. in the Chair,

The following paper was proposed, unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

HAVING observed a publication in the Belfast News-Letter, without any signature or mark of authenticity, purporting to be the orders of the Earl of Charlemont to the Volunteer army of the province of Ulster: We should deem ourselves accessory to the subversion of those principles of independence under which the military societies of Ireland have flourished, and regardless of the true honour and dignity of that justly respected nobleman, were we to decline declaring our disapprobation of the circumstance under which these orders originated.—Our Reasons are:

Because the delegates who met at Dungannon the 21st of June, 1782, were not authorised to nominate any person whatever as a Commander-in-Chief of the armed force of the province, nor was any previous intimation given of any such intention, consequently the constituent body is not bound by their decision.

Because vesting any individual, however revered, with perpetual authority, seems totally repugnant to, and destructive of the spirit, interest, and dignity of Volunteer associations.

Because the general transactions of the delegates assembled on that day in Dungannon, had nearly crushed the hopes of the people of Ireland, and were such a stain on the history of

Irish emancipation, that even their promoters were ashamed to produce them to public view.

Because it is more grateful to derive popular honours from annual disinterested elections, than from the intemperate resolves of a day—a day to be remembered with regret by every friend of the empire.

Because an appointment of unlimited duration deprives the elected of those repeated testimonies of regard and confidence, which alone can render such offices honourable, or worthy of acceptance.

Resolved, therefore.—(It being the glaring abuse of delegated power, and not any alienation of affection from the nobleman in question, which leads us to make these public objections;) that our delegate shall be instructed to vote for the Earl of Charlemont, on the 17th of March, as Commander-in-Chief for the present year.

JOHN BURDEN."

The above Censure was shortly after adopted by the Belfast Union Volunteers, John Brown, chairman; and by the First Company, Waddell Cunningham, chairman.

April 16.—"At a meeting of the BELFAST SOCIETY, the following loyal and patriotic toasts were drank:

Our King.—The Volunteers of Ireland.—Speedy justice to Colonel T——t [*Talbot,*] and his gang [*of Fencibles,*] who wantonly fired on the peaceable inhabitants of Kilkenny.—May the Fencibles and their friends never enjoy the benefits of freemen.—May Ireland never want hemp to exalt all Fencible commanders who deserve it.—May every indignity offered by Fencibles to the inhabitants of Ireland rouse the spirit of her Volunteers.—May no Fencible ever enjoy a fair bedfellow.—Unanimity to the Volunteers of Ireland.—May the arms of the

Volunteers of Ireland never rust.—May the first who thought of Fencibles die without the benefit of clergy.—The freedom of election.—Colonel Sharman, Captain Jones, and the free and independent electors of the borough of Lisburn.—The virtuous freeholders of the county of Kerry, who are determined never to re-elect their present representatives, who have shamefully deserted the banners of freedom, and fled to a Fencible standard.—The free and independent electors of the county of Antrim.—May they who will not support the freedom of election never have the command of a ball-cartridge.—May an enemy to the Volunteers of Ireland never enjoy a seat in the Irish senate.—The free and independent electors of the county of Armagh.—May the man who would not die for his country's rights, never die in his bed.—May the lovers of Liberty never want means to support it.—May freedom of election never die.—May the moment we relinquish our liberties, be the last of our lives."

April.—ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS, &c. TO THE EARL OF DONEGALL, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAYING OF THE FIRST STONE OF THE WHITE LINEN HALL.

"Yesterday the merchants and other principal inhabitants of this town waited on the Right Hon. the Earl of Donegall, at the castle, and presented the following Address.

MY LORD.—We, the merchants and principal inhabitants of Belfast, take this early opportunity of waiting upon your Lordship, to express our warmest congratulations upon your safe arrival in this kingdom. It is with the highest gratitude that we acknowledge your Lordship's generous attention to the interests of this community; and we beg leave to assure your Lordship, that we shall ever retain a most grateful sense of your Lordship's munificence, exemplified in the noble works

already perfected, and now carrying on, under your Lordship's patronage; from which this town and country must derive great and lasting advantages.

They met with a very polite reception; and his Lordship returned the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,—I am much obliged to you for the mark of respect you have shewn to me; and I shall always be happy to be of any service to the town of Belfast and country.

At the laying of the first stone of the Belfast White Linen Hall, there were deposited (besides the copper-plate inscription) a quantity of new shillings and halfpence, together with a large glass tube, hermetically sealed at both ends, so as not to admit the smallest particle of air. The procession was conducted by the Orange Lodge, so confessedly acknowledged to be the first in Europe, being composed of 150 gentlemen, among whom are noblemen and commoners of the very first distinction. The Orange Lodge was first revived in September, 1780, at which time it merely consisted of the present past-master, and two other gentlemen; since which time, 147 gentlemen and noblemen have been admitted members of it, and the most munificent acts of charity and benevolence have arisen from this never to be forgotten phoenix."

27th May, 1783.—"At a meeting of the Merchants and Traders, WADDELL, CUNNINGHAM, in the Chair, A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE was established."

REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

The friends of liberty now began to turn their attention to that most important and necessary measure, without which, all

the blessings we enjoy, are quite precarious.—A REFORM IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE: The first resolutions towards this salutary measure, in the North were adopted in the following meeting.

“June 9th, 1783.—At a meeting of Delegates from thirty-eight Corps of Volunteers reviewed at Belfast, the 9th of June, 1783.

The Hon. Col. ROWLEY in the Chair.

A Committee consisting of the Right Hon. John O'Neill, Captain Black, Colonel Sharman, Captain Waddell Cunningham, Rev. Mr Brison, Mr Thompson, and Lieut. Moore, being appointed to draw up an Address to General the Earl of Donnegall, reported the following, which was read, and unanimously agreed to.

Resolved unanimously,—That at an æra so honourable to the spirit, wisdom, and loyalty of Ireland, A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION of the People in Parliament deserves the deliberate attention of every Irishman ; as that alone which can perpetuate to future ages the inestimable possession of a free constitution.—In this sentiment, we are happy to coincide with a late decision of the much respected Volunteer Army of the Province of Munster : as well as with the opinion of that consummate statesman, the late Earl of Chatham ; by whom it was held a favourite measure for checking venality, promoting public virtue, and restoring the native spirit of the constitution.

Resolved, (with one dissenting voice,) That the enormous sums annually drawn from this kingdom by individuals or corporate bodies, who reside generally or entirely in other countries, is

a grievance most injurious, and almost ruinous to Ireland; and as such ought no longer in justice to be tolerated with impunity, or remain unnoticed by the Irish Legislature.

Resolved, (with one dissenting voice,) That we most heartily concur with the general sense of the nation. "That an Irish Bill of Rights is necessary, as a great national record to which posterity may appeal at any future emergency."

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Captain William Todd Jones, our Exercising Officer, for the singular politeness and ability with which he has conducted the Review.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Lieutenant Bradshaw for the accuracy with which he executed the Office of Secretary.

HERCULES ROWLEY, CHAIRMAN.

COLONEL ROWLEY having left the Chair:

Resolved.—That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Honourable Colonel Rowley for his impartial conduct in the chair.

To the Earl of Donegall.

MY LORD,

The Corps this day reviewed by your Lordship, beg leave through us their Delegates to return you their warmest thanks for the honour you have conferred upon them: and to assure your Lordship they felt every gratification from your presence that men could receive in beholding a nobleman whose character is so strongly marked by public spirit.

Amid the crowd of landlords who, living in another kingdom, draw immense revenues from this exhausted country; without undertaking or contributing to any public work, as a compensation for the injury: We feel the highest satisfaction in thus addressing to your Lordship the due tribute of our praise; and our warmest welcome and congratulations on your Lordship's arrival among us.

May you, my Lord, very long enjoy every honour and acknowledgment so justly due to your Lordship's munificence, and consideration of the interests of this country.

Signed by Order,

HERCULES ROWLEY, CHAIRMAN.

Belfast, June 9, 1783.

To which his Lordship was pleased to return the following
Reply:

GENTLEMEN,

Words can but feebly express my feelings on this occasion, or convey an adequate idea of the satisfaction I received on reviewing the Volunteer Corps you represent, whose military appearance and manœuvres would have done honour to veterans. The approbation given by so respectable a part of the community to my endeavours to facilitate, and promote, the internal commerce of this part of the kingdom is highly flattering to me. My exertions, and I trust those of others who by their possessions in this country are interested in its welfare, will never be wanting towards obtaining those advantages which the emancipation of its trade, and peace, have brought within its reach: I am persuaded by a proper attention to the improvement of its manufactures, and the cultivation of its lands, (which now ought to be our chief object) this kingdom will daily rise in wealth, splendor, and consequence."

JUNE 24.—ADDRESS FROM THE DELEGATES OF THE ULSTER REGIMENT TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF ULSTER, ON THE SUBJECT OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

“ At a meeting of the Delegates of the Ulster Regiment, at Hastings’s, in Lisburn, the 24th of June, 1783,

Colonel ROWLEY, in the Chair,

The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed.

TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Countrymen, Friends, and Fellow Soldiers,

While most of the nations in Europe are tamely submitting to whatever form of government one, or a few despots, think fit to continue or impose ; it is the pride and glory of this, that her sons have awakened from the slumber of ages, and asserted, with success, the birth-right of MAN—the right of being governed only by laws of his own making. You, our friends, have been distinguished labourers in this great work ; you have reared a temple to liberty whose base is on a rock which time cannot move. Your plan was that of a master, and the execution, hitherto, equal to the design ; but permit us to remind you, that much is still wanting to its *perfection*. The people of Ireland are now free from the controul of a foreign legislature, but still, there are defects in our constitution at *home*. If these are not redressed, all that has been done will only tend to aggrandize a few.

The happiness of the PEOPLE will not be increased ; nor the burthens under which they laboured, lightened or removed. Among these defects, the present state of parliamentary representation loudly calls for the first notice. No man in this

kingdom will be found hardy enough to affirm, that the constitution of that assembly is perfect, nor stands in need of alteration or amendment. To this reform we would now call your attention. There is a wisdom in the nation able to save itself. Let the sentiments of the people be collected ; when joined, there will be an efficacy in them, salutary and irresistible. As the first step to this desirable end, we take the liberty to invite you, our friends and fellow-labourers, to a conference and exchange of sentiments through your delegates. In the confidence of our past conduct, we can appeal to you and to the world, for the purity of our motives.—We have a property in our country, and are enemies to commotions ; we are acquainted with the blessings of equal government, and will never be the instruments of anarchy or confusion. From an attendance on such a meeting be not intimidated by threats, nor cajoled by cunning.—Remember the 15th of February, 1782.—Cherish a similar spirit of wisdom, moderation, and firmness, and like success will crown your efforts. One of the provinces has already led the way,—let the others follow,—let the PEOPLE be unanimous, and, in IRELAND, “ the voice of the people must prevail.”

HERCULES ROWLEY, *Chairman.*

Resolved,—That a meeting of Delegates from every Volunteer Company, in this and the neighbouring counties, who chooses to depute one, be held at Hasting's, in Lisburn, on Tuesday the first of July next, at twelve o'clock at noon, to fix a proper time and place for a general meeting.

HERCULES ROWLEY, *Chairman.*”

July 1.—On the first of this month, the delegates of forty-five Volunteer Corps assembled at Lisburn to deliberate on measures for a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and a committee

was by them appointed to meet at Belfast, at the head of which presided Colonel Sharman. By this committee letters were addressed to many persons in England, most distinguished for their talents, and their zeal in the cause of liberty, requesting their advice and opinion on this important subject : among these were the Duke of Richmond, Lord Effingham, Mr. Pitt, Dr Price, Dr John Jebb, Rev. Christopher Wyvill, (*a church clergyman,*) and Major John Cartwright. On this interesting occasion, the place of secretary to the corresponding committee was filled with great ability by Henry Joy, Jun. of Belfast. The answers of the above-mentioned celebrated characters to the committee, contain a valuable fund of information on the important subjects under consideration, but are too long to be inserted here.

July 19.—ADDRESS TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF ULSTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, AT BELFAST, ON THE SUBJECT OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, &c.

“A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION.”

BELFAST, JULY 19, 1783.

At a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the representatives of forty-five Volunteer corps that assembled at Lisburn on the 1st instant:—Present, Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, Major Burden, Captain Cunningham, Captain Prentice, Captain Moore, Captain Crawford, Lieutenant Tomb, and Mr Robert Thomson——

Lieutenant Colonel SHARMAN in the Chair.

Ordered.—That the following Address be published in the public prints, and a copy of it sent to each corps in the province, of which our secretary can get information.

To the Volunteers of Ulster.

GENTLEMEN.—In compliance with the order of forty-five corps which appointed us a Committee of Correspondence for the purpose of promoting a Dungannon meeting, to be held the 8th of September next; We think it necessary to present a view of the several Volunteer bodies who have already declared their determination to support a parliamentary reform, viz.

The province of Munster, by a unanimous declaration of their representatives, on the 1st of March last.

The representatives of thirty-eight corps reviewed at Belfast on the 9th of June last, by a unanimous declaration.

The united corps of True Blue and Society Volunteers of the city of Londonderry, on parade the 30th of June, by unanimous declaration.

The Londonderry Artillery Company, the Londonderry Independent Volunteers, and Liberty Volunteers, on parade the 1st of July, by unanimous declaration.

The representatives of forty-five corps convened at Lisburn the 1st of July instant, by unanimous declaration.

The representatives of 34 corps reviewed at Broughshane on the 10th instant, by a unanimous declaration.

It appears to us, that the idea of a parliamentary reform has already received the sanction of 15,000 Volunteers; with a warm promise of support from the great patron of Irish liberty, the Earl of Charlemont; and has received, in a very short time, the general approbation of all ranks and denominations of independent freeholders.

Having given this information, it only remains at present to assure you, that we are diligently applying ourselves to the discharge of the trust reposed in us; and earnestly to request,

that every Volunteer corps in Ulster may be represented at Dungannon on the 8th of September next, and that their delegates may be furnished with *written* instructions to declare approbation or disapprobation of the measure of a parliamentary reform;—leaving it to the united wisdom of the assembled delegates, to pursue such further measures to promote this great object, as shall appear to them most proper.

WILLIAM SHARMAN, Chairman."

ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

" To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—We, whose names are undersigned, request you to meet at the market-house on Wednesday next, at 12 o'Clock, in particular, to determine whether you will, at the approaching election for the county of Antrim, vote for, or support any candidate who will not make, subscribe, and publish a declaration, that he will in all cases vote and act in parliament agreeable to the instructions he may from time to time receive from *his constituents*; and in general to consider of and decide upon all such matters as may be then and there proposed relative to said election.

We are, most respectfully,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servants.

Belfast, July 14, 1783.

Waddell Cunningham

John Brown

Samuel Brown

William Brown

James Ferguson

James T. Kennedy

David Tomb

John M'Cracken

Thomas Milliken

Robert Thompson

Alexander Orr

William Boyle

James Weir

John Campbell White

James Graham

James Magee	Hugh M'Iwain	James Park, Jun.
John Henderson	Henry Haslett	Francis Hamilton
Joseph Stephenson	Isaac Miller	Thomas Sinclair
James Murphy	Samuel Carson	Francis Taggart."
Patrick Gaw	Thomas M'Cabe	

"TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST, July 14, 1783.

At a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants convened by public notice.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, (13 dissenting,)—That our Chairman be, and hereby is requested to write in our name to our highly respected landlord, the Right Honourable the Earl of Donegall, and to return his Lordship our most cordial thanks for his Lordship's very patriotic and constitutional declaration, so explicitly made, and so often repeated, viz. That his Lordship would not interfere *directly or indirectly* in the election for this county.

Resolved, unanimously.—That in order to ascertain the principles of candidates for the trust of representation, in parliament, we hold it an indispensable duty that previous to an election they explicitly declare the great outlines of their political sentiments.

Resolved, (11 dissenting.)—That we highly approve the substance of a declaration which was submitted to the freeholders of this county at their meeting on the 5th instant.—As it contained a promise of compliance with the instructions of constituents, when convened by public notice from the Sheriff or from sixty freeholders:—of a faithful attendance in parliament;—and an engagement to use every effort to procure an act or acts of the legislature to promote that great, salutary, and necessary measure—a more equal representation of the people.

Resolved, (3 dissentient.)—That we will at the ensuing election, decidedly prefer and support such candidate or candidates, who shall make, subscribe, and publish a declaration so agreeable to the genius of our free constitution;—a declaration which does not require the formality of an oath, but only a simple adoption of the said declaration in an address to the freeholders, inserted in the public prints.

Resolved, unanimously.—That as a dissolution of parliament is every day expected, and as it was neglected at the late county meeting, we most earnestly recommend that parish meetings, similar to those had prior to the last glorious election for this county, be held without the least delay; for the purpose of declaring their sentiments to the public on the preceding points, and for appointing from four to eight delegates from each parish—that the whole aggregate of county delegates may without loss of time be convened to concert the most eligible measures for promoting the freedom and independence of the county.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the following gentlemen be, and they hereby are appointed our delegates for the above purpose, and that they, as soon as may be, do, in conjunction with other delegates as shall be appointed for some of the neighbouring parishes, call a general meeting of the delegates for the said county, viz.

Messrs Thomas Sinclair
W. Cunningham
James Ferguson
David Tomb

Messrs William Brown
Robert Thompson
Thomas M'Cabe
John Brown

Resolved, unanimously.—That we highly admire, approve, and honour the virtuous exertions of our much respected friends—the inhabitants of Lisburn, in exercising those elec-

tive rights with which the constitution vests their borough; and in disclaiming an interference which directly contradicts a fundamental principle of that constitution.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Chairman."

"DONEGALL-ARMS, July 22, 1783.

At a meeting of the Delegates appointed by the town of Belfast, in relation to the approaching Election.—*Ordered*, That the following Address be published;

To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—In the execution of the trust you reposed in us, on finding that two of the Candidates who had not subscribed and published the Declaration, intended to canvass for votes, we cautioned you against making any promise to any candidate except Mr Rowley, until such time as some other candidate would also publish such declaration.

The manner in which Mr Rowley had anticipated the wishes of the independent interest of the county, by a very early, a clear, and explicit adoption of a Declaration which gave general satisfaction to that interest—rendered any application to him unnecessary; and, in our opinion, marked him in the strongest terms **THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE**, who claims the first and most decided independent support.

On the arrival of the two other candidates, we sent the following requisition to each of them:

"The Delegates appointed by the town of Belfast, request that will be so good explicitly to declare, Whether he will comply with the instructions of his constituents, provided he be returned to represent the county of Antrim in parliament,

on all such occasions as they may, at any meeting or meetings, convened by public notice from the Sheriff, or from sixty Freeholders, think it proper to interfere in.

“Mr Cunningham is appointed to call for an answer in writing, at seven o’Clock this evening.”

“*Belfast, 21st July, 1783.*”

In answer to which we have received the following replies ; which we deem it our indispensable duty to convey to you and the electors at large, for your, and their consideration.

Thomas Sinclair,
James Ferguson,
John Brown,

Robert Thomson,
Thomas M’Cabe,
David Tomb.

Waddell Cunningham,
William Brown,

To the Delegates appointed by the Town of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN,—The reason I assigned to you some hours since for not answering your letter before seven o’clock, has, I hope, been satisfactory. I will trouble you with as few words in reply to the application with which you honoured me as are possible for me to use ; and, I sincerely hope, that they may be sufficiently explicit and satisfactory. In relation to every question which my constituents shall judge to be such an important question as may, in their opinion, affect in its consequences, the constitution or the commerce of this kingdom ; it is my principle, and I will adhere to that principle, that the instructions of my constituents, convened as you describe, shall direct my conduct. I flattered myself that I had conveyed these sentiments to you in my first public address. I assure you, gentlemen, it was my intention so to have done ;

and I am happy that this occasion has given me an opportunity of making myself perfectly understood by you: I am,

Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your obedient and

Faithful humble servant,

Belfast, July 21, 1783.

JAMES LESLIE.

To the Electors of the County of Antrim.

GENTLEMEN,

When at the county of Antrim meeting, I stated my objection to that part of the Declaration which required that "at all time, the representative should obey the instructions of his constituents regularly assembled," I omitted one distinction on the subject, which is, that in every case, in which the constituents shall, at any time conceive, that the constitution or commerce of Ireland is, in the most remote degree, affected, or concerned:—In my opinion Representatives should implicitly obey the instructions of constituents; a duty which I solemnly acknowledge myself bound by, and amenable to, if I shall have the honour of receiving those of the county of Antrim.

I have only to add, that the mode of collecting the sense of county constituents, to which I will be amenable, is by a call of the sheriff—or of sixty Freeholders, a previous notice of fourteen days being given.—For a substantial reform of parliament, and faithful attendance of my duty, I have formerly, in the fullest manner declared.

JOHN O'NEILL, (*Afterwards Lord O'Neill.*)

Belfast, 21st July, 1783.

*To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County
of Antrim.*

GENTLEMEN,

Having had the honour at a meeting of the Freeholders, convened by the High Sheriff on the 5th instant, to be put in nomination as a representative for this county on the ensuing general election, I take this public method of repeating the high sense I there expressed, of this very flattering mark of their approbation; and of declaring, that, in consequence thereof, I shall submit myself to the consideration of the county.

The uninfluenced support of the electors of this great and spirited county, (the first object of my ambition,) shall ever command my strenuous exertions in forwarding every measure tending to establish the constitutional and commercial rights of my country; and in promoting with all my influence, such a *radical parliamentary reform*, as may restore to the constituent body of the kingdom that weight which forms the basis, and is the best security of the constitution.

JOHN O'NEILL,

Shaness-Castle, 22d July.

August 5.—“ At a full meeting of the BELFAST AMICABLE SOCIETY :—

Resolved, unanimously,—That we behold with admiration the virtuous endeavours of our highly esteemed brethren and fellow-citizens,—The independent electors of the borough of Lisburn.

Resolved, unanimously,—That we will, to the utmost of our power, support them in their glorious attempt to regain their constitutional rights.

AMYAS GRIFFITH, *Chairman.*”

" AT a meeting of THE BELFAST SOCIETY, August 7, 1783, the following Address was unanimously agreed upon :

To the Independent Electors of the Borough of Lisburn.

FRIENDS, FELLOW SOLDIERS, BRETHREN, AND NEIGHBOURS !

We behold your virtuous and glorious struggles in favour of the freedom of election, with a degree of heartfelt satisfaction more easily to be understood than expressed.—We are highly delighted when we see you resolutely standing firm to your first purpose of supporting the men of your own choice ; regardless of the allurements that have been made use of to degrade you, and render you more contemptible than the beasts of the field, by attempting to make you vote contrary to your sacred promise, and in opposition to your own signatures.

Persevere then in the glorious cause !—continue steadily to support your rights, and your worthy candidates SHARMAN and JONES ;—they have stepped forth on the sure constitutional ground of freedom ;—it is your indispensable duty to attach yourselves to them, and save yourselves and your posterity from infamy and detestation.

'Tis not the battle of *your borough* alone, you are so heavily fighting,—it is the battle of the nation, and all good men who wish well to freedom and independence are interested in the event, and will support each injured elector. Above 200 of the first characters in Belfast have already declared it ; and we, on our parts, do most sincerely promise, to aid and assist such of you as may be injured, for voluntarily and freely voting as your consciences dictate, to the utmost extent of our power.

JOSEPH DRENNAN, *Chairman.*"

August 7.—" The sovereign and burgesses of the borough of Belfast re-elected Counsellor Crookshank and Major Skef-

fington, to represent *them* in the ensuing parliament. A very large body of the most respectable inhabitants attended, and required from them (through a barrister,) a similar declaration to that adopted by all the candidates for the county of Antrim, regarding their compliance with the instructions of the inhabitants of the town;—attendance in parliament—and a more equal representation of the people in parliament, which they **POSITIVELY DECLINED.**"

"BELFAST MEETING.

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast, convened by public notice, 7th August, 1783,

JAMES FERGUSON, Esq. M. D. in the Chair.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we highly approve of the conduct of our committee of eight delegates; to whose strenuous efforts we conceive that the independent interest of this town has been materially indebted.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we warmly coincide with our delegates in the opinion, that *Mr Rowley's* clear, early, and explicit adoption of the Declaration proposed at the County Meeting, marks him in the strongest terms, **THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE**;—and we will, therefore, exert every nerve in his support: conceiving that in supporting him we support the Independent Interest of the County of Antrim.

Resolved Unanimously.—That we think the Independent Interest would be strengthened and effectually secured, were the second votes given to *Mr. O'Neill*, which we conceive from his very proper conduct in the glorious election of 1776, and his late solemn engagements to the county, he justly merits: therefore, we will, at the ensuing election, support him with our second votes and interest.

JAMES FERGUSON, M. D. Chairman.

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE ELECTION.

" On Tuesday last came on at Carrickfergus, the election for Knights of the Shire to represent the COUNTY OF ANTRIM. The Right Hon. John O'Neill being proposed by C. R. Dobbs, Esq. seconded by R. G. Kerr, Esq. and the question put, it was carried unanimously in the affirmative. The Hon. Hercules Rowley being proposed by Roger Moore, Esq. seconded by Marriot Dalway, Esq.—the same unanimity pervaded; after which their election was declared, and the formality of chairing duly observed.

The meeting broke up after the following Resolution was moved:

Resolved, (1 dissenting voice,)—That Mr Willson, by his stepping forth as a candidate in the year 1776 to represent the county of Antrim in Parliament, did essentially serve the Independent Interest.

Near 250 Freeholders were entertained at dinner in the Court-House by the new members. The following selection of THE TOASTS drank after dinner, convey the spirit of the meeting:—

Our Members, the Honourable Hercules Rowley, and the Right Honourable John O'Neill. The King and Constitution of Ireland. The High Sheriff of the County of Antrim.—Captain Willson, our late Representative, who first gave efficacy to the Independent Interest. The Volunteers of Ireland, and their worthy General, Lord Charlemont. The independent and virtuous Electors of the Borough of Lisburn. *May the glorious example of the Borough of Lisburn be followed by every Borough in the kingdom of Ireland!* William Sharman and William Todd Jones, Esqrs. the Independent Mem-

bers of the Independent Borough of Lisburn. The Constitution Club of Lisburn, (*nine cheers.*) Waddell Cunningham Esq. and the Belfast division of the Constitution Club of Lisburn. The Larne independents, (*three cheers.*) *May the possessor of every Borough in this kingdom follow the example of our patriotic General, Lord Charlemont, who has decidedly declared that he will most strenuously support a more equal Representation of the People.* A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE: (*three cheers, and a general burst of applause.*) THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE. May the voice of the House of Commons be ever directed by the sense of the people. The 15th February, 1782. May the 8th, September, 1783, be as beneficial and glorious as the 15th February, 1782. The town and trade of Belfast, and prosperity to it. May that virtuous connexion of the people, which has rendered this kingdom the admiration of Europe, be indissoluble. *May every mandate of a Lord to influence the votes of his tenantry be trampled on and treated with the contempt it deserves.* The Honourable Mrs. O'Neill as an example of public and private virtue.

The gentleman who gave the last toast prefaced it with the following elegant and just eulogium:

"There is a woman in this kingdom, and at present not far from Carrickfergus, whose soul is fraught with every public and private virtue, whose every pulse beats for, and every nerve is strung with the sentiments of liberty that unite us this day; though it may be informal to introduce a Lady's name of her consequence in a meeting of this kind, yet that liberality of sentiment which is the characteristic of this enlightened age, denies our refusing a tribute of adoration to any sex, when transcendent merits so justly demand it."

It is impossible to describe the manner in which it was received ; suffice it to say, that not a word could be heard for full half an hour together ; every body standing up (even on the benches) huzzaing, and seeming to vie with each other who should shew the greatest joy and admiration.

Thus terminated an election which it was expected would have been warmly contested.

On this occasion. the exemplary conduct of the eight delegates of BELFAST in insisting on a solemn engagement of compliance with the sense of Constituents,—the anticipation of the declaration by Mr Rowley,—its explicit adoption by Mr O'Neill and Mr Leslie,—with the very polite conduct of the latter in withdrawing at a time and in a manner that does him much honour,—are such testimonies of spirit, freedom and independency, as will be long remembered with virtuous pride, by the freemen and freeholders of this great and respectable county.

The former glorious election of 1776, drew forth the latent powers of an independent body of people, inspired by their religion and education, with an exalted sense of the blessings of civil liberty ;—and the determination of the freeholders on the present occasion, to elect such men, and such only, as, added to great stakes in the county, would enter into engagements of honour, to act in perfect conformity to the sense of constituents, will be a lasting monument of their wisdom, and unanimity.

The manner in which Mr Rowley and Mr O'Neill are returned to parliament, is an honourable testimonial of the high respect in which their conduct is deservedly held—and strongly marks them as natural guardians of the rights and interests of this county.

The two gentlemen who now represent this high spirited county, will become the most popular and honoured men in the kingdom, by giving early intimations to the county when any matter of great importance is likely to be agitated in parliament,—and by resting their claims for the veneration of the people, on the only firm, the only patriotic basis—*uniform compliance with the desires of their constituents.*

The exultation of the TOWN OF BELFAST, on the arrival of the new members on Wednesday, was universal. The inhabitants insisted on chairing them, which was done with the attendance of the greatest multitude we have seen on any occasion in this place. The evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and every other mark of joy.

A very elegant and crowded Ball was given by the members in the Exchange Rooms."

" To the Electors of the County Antrim.

GENTLEMEN,

The very honourable support we have experienced from the independent men of a county, which in general spirit and the truest political principle yields to no other, demands the warmest acknowledgements that it is possible to offer. The unanimity which prevailed in our election, we shall ever hold an honour of the first magnitude, but our sense of it will be better expressed by an honest representation of our constituents, than by any other return we are capable of making. Faithfully to convey your sentiments and wishes, shall be the first object of our lives, as that tenure by which alone the parliamentary trust can be deemed honourable or consonant to the spirit of a free constitution. Permit us to reflect with pride on the glorious spirit of independence exhibited by this county in the election

of 1776, and to congratulate you, and the kingdom at large, on its rapid growth and progress from that to the present moment. We look forward with pleasure to the time, when a rising generation, whose minds are strongly impressed with the value of their civil rights, will infuse such a portion of spirit into the community at large, as must render our constitution as durable as in its principles it is free. Our former explicit obligations of honour it would be unnecessary here to repeat;—we shall therefore only add, that we are,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged,

And faithful humble Servants,

HERCULES ROWLEY,

JOHN O'NEILL."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BELFAST IN THE
ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

" At a numerous meeting of inhabitants of the town of Belfast, 2d September, 1783,

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, as it appears to us by Mr Stewart's advertisement of this day, that a junction of interests between Lord Kilwarlin and the Hon. Mr Ward, has been avowed, that we think it our duty, as friends to independence, to express our disapprobation of so extraordinary a proceeding of a gentleman, who set himself at the head of the independent interest, without even waiting for their nomination.

Resolved.—That Mr Ward, by forming such a junction, has forfeited the support of every friend to the freedom of election, having by it shewn a disposition to sacrifice the independence of the county to his own private views.

Resolved.—That as Mr Stewart's conduct in parliament has been uniformly good, supporting, at all times, the rights, privileges, and interests of the people of Ireland; and as he has, with the strictest honour, resisted all offers and solicitations of a junction with the Lordly Interest, he is entitled to the good wishes and support of all honest men, and the friends of liberty and independency.*

Resolved.—That, while we lament the necessity that tenants think themselves under of giving one vote to their landlords, we must hold in contempt and detestation the man who has not spirit enough to give his second according to his conscience, and that we will, to the utmost of our power, support those who have the integrity to do it, against all oppressors.

Resolved.—That, at this time, when our salvation depends on a Parliamentary Reform, the loss of such a man as Mr Stewart from the national council would be a national loss; and that therefore it is our duty, as warm friends to the interests of Ireland, to express our warmest wishes for his success in the present election.

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Chairman."

On Monday the 8th of September, was held the celebrated MEETING AT DUNGANNON, (when there assembled the Delegates from 272 Corps of Volunteers, Colonel JAMES STEWART presiding in the chair;) and a number of excellent resolutions were unanimously agreed to, in favour of a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

September 16.—*Approbation of the Dungannon Resolutions by the County of Antrim Grand Jury.*

* Mr Stewart is now Marquis of Londonderry.!!!

"At a meeting of the Grand Jury of the county of Antrim, at Carrickfergus, on the 16th September 1783.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we very highly approve of the *wise—spirited—and unanimous* Resolutions of our fellow-citizens assembled at Dungannon on Monday, the 8th instant, on the subject of A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE in Parliament :—that we heartily accede to *each of them*, and will co-operate in every constitutional exertion necessary to render them effectual.

JOHN O'NEILL, Foreman,
and Fellows."

September 24.—*Approbation of the Dungannon Resolutions, by the Inhabitants of Belfast.*

"To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN,

We request you may meet at the Town-House on Wednesday next, at 12 o'clock, to take under consideration the Resolutions of the Volunteer Army of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, by their delegates, on the 8th instant; to declare your sentiments respecting the same; and, provided you shall approve thereof, to instruct your representatives to give the most decided support in parliament to a bill for a radical and substantial reform in the representation of the people, and, also, to instruct your representatives on such other points as you shall think necessary and proper. We are,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servants,

17th September, 1783.

Waddell Cunningham
James Patterson.

Samuel Ashmore
William Burgess

John Bashford
Thomas Simelaire

Alex. H. Halliday	Patrick Gaw	James Holmes
John Hamilton	Archibald Scott	William Boyle
Henry Jay, jun.	William Brown	Hugh M'Ilwain
James Carson,	Valentine Jones	John Smyth
Robert Bradshaw	David Tomb	Joseph Stevenson
James Park	Thomas Gregg	Hugh Graham
John M'Cracken	William Irvin	John Luke
Thomas Hardin	James Ferguson, M. D.	Thomas Brown
Alex. Arthur	Valentine Joyce	Francis Taggart
Richard Seeds	James Magee	John Holmes
Thomas Milliken	David Watson	Stewart Beatty
Robert Thomson	Thomas M'Cabe	Samuel Brown
John Ewing	James Luke	Robert Hyndman
Alex. Orr		

" TOWN HOUSE, BELFAST, 24th SEPT. 1783.

At a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants convened public notice, dated the 17th instant, signed by 46 of the principal inhabitants, and published in the Belfast News-Letter,

JAMES FERGUSON, Esq. M. D. in the Chair.

The requisition calling the meeting, and stating the business proposed for deliberation, being read by the chairman; the resolutions of the Volunteer army of Ulster, assembled by their delegates on the 8th instant at Dungannon, were read, paragraph by paragraph.

1st. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That we highly approve of, cordially accede to, and adopt as our own—each and every of the wise, just, and spirited resolutions of the Volunteer army of Ulster, entered into on the 8th instant at Dungannon; that we solemnly pledge ourselves to co-operate with them, and our fellow-subjects at large, in every exertion that may be found necessary to obtain a speedy and radical reform in the representation of the people: that we hereby offer our warmest

thanks to the said Volunteers for their glorious conduct on this and on every other occasion ; and we earnestly, but most respectfully, entreat all our fellow-citizens of this province to assemble in their several towns and parishes, to declare their sentiments on this important subject, and to shew the world—*they are determined to be free.*

2d. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That we admire the wisdom exemplified in the proceedings of that day, in avoiding the consideration of a multiplicity of objects ; and in limiting their solemn appeal to the kingdom to the *one* great point—**A MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION** :—As the want of union in our sister country, when engaged in a similar pursuit, was that alone which for a time rendered her noble efforts ineffectual : and as a perfect unity of design in the four provinces of Ireland, being fraught with every blessing, must finally terminate in “ virtue, liberty, and peace.”

3d. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That, with singular satisfaction, we reflect on that part of the last session of parliament ; when, after a persevering struggle for legislative independence, we at length beheld the obedience of our House of Commons to the united voice of the people,—crowned with complete success.

4th. *Resolved, unanimously.*—That when the great principles of a reform in parliament shall be ultimately approved by an enlightened nation, “ seeking for its rights, and no more than its rights,” we cannot suppose that a House of Commons, even constituted as the present, would refuse to express the public will : as we conceive, that by such refusal, the representation of the great body of Irish Commons would be annihilated ; and that in restoration of the ancient and fundamental right of the people to a just share in their own legislature—it would be the

duty of a community of freemen, not only to reason, but to ACT.

5th. *Resolved unanimously.*—That the following instructions be signed by our chairman, in the name of the inhabitants of Belfast, and by him forwarded to our representatives.

To the Honourable HENRY SKEFFINGTON, and ALEXANDER CROOKSHANK, Esq.

GENTLEMEN.—The present moment calls aloud for the exertion of every Irishman, in or out of parliament. The nation is eager in the pursuit of an object on the attainment of which depends the permanency of every blessing we enjoy ; and without which, all we have obtained, or can obtain, must be illusive, transitory, insecure.

From an equal representation, chosen by the free, uninfluenced voice of the people, and by frequent elections subject to the controul of the constituent body, every blessing must result. To procure to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, this great, this important good, is the object of the present Address. We therefore instruct you, gentlemen, to exert your utmost influence and abilities in parliament to promote a full, radical, and effectual reform in the representation of the people ; and to shorten the duration of parliaments, so as to restore to the constituent body, by very frequent elections, that controul over their representatives, which, from the original constitution, as well as from nature and reason, they ought to enjoy.

We farther instruct you, gentlemen, on no account in future, ever to consent to any Bill of Supply for a longer term than *twelve months* ; and, until the great objects above-mentioned are fully and finally accomplished, we strictly enjoin you, not only not to consent to, but to the utmost of your

power to oppose, any Bill of supply for a longer term than six months.

We forbear urging the necessity of a full and comprehensive Bill of Rights, as the national voice hath long since declared in favour of the measure, and as we entertain no doubt of its meeting universal support.

We shall only add, that a faithful observance of those instructions will ensure to you the esteem, not only of the inhabitants of Belfast, but of the nation at large.

By direction, and in the name of the inhabitants of Belfast,
JAMES FERGUSON, Chairman."

The Dungannon Resolutions were also acceded to by the *Constitutional Club* of LISBURN, (consisting of sixty-eight members resident in Lisburn, and of sixty-four resident in Belfast) held at BELFAST Sept. 20. 1783.—HENRY BELL, Esq. in the chair.

COMMERCE OF BELFAST.

"The rising importance of this town cannot be more certainly evinced than by this circumstance; that our port duties before the late war never rose above £60,000 per annum, though in the year ending 25th March, 1782, they increased to £65,000; and in the year ending 25th March, 1783, they stretched to the great sum of £73,000."

October 11.—APPROBATION OF THE DUNGANNON RESOLUTIONS BY THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, WITH THEIR INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO VOTE FOR A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

"At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Antrim, at the court-house of Antrim, the 11th day of October, 1783, of which previous notice was given, in consequence of a requi-

sition to John Brown, Esq. high sheriff of said county, signed by 112 freeholders; the following resolution was moved by Mr Robert Thompson, and seconded by James Leslie, Esq.; on the question being put, it passed unanimously.

Resolved,—That we most heartily approve of the wise, just, and spirited resolutions of that highly honoured and respectable body, the volunteer army of Ulster, entered into by their delegates, on the 8th of September last, at Dungannon; that we adopt each and every of them, in their fullest extent, as our own; and solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to pursue, with unremitting assiduity, the important object of said resolutions, viz. a radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament; and to use every exertion which time and circumstance may render necessary to obtain it.

On the motion of James Leslie, Esq. and seconded by Mr Robert Thompson,

Resolved, unanimously,—That the following INSTRUCTIONS be signed by the sheriff, in the name of the freeholders of this county, and forwarded by him to our representatives in Parliament.

To the Honourable Hercules Rowley, and the Right Honourable John O'Neill, Knights of the Shire for the County of Antrim.

GENTLEMEN,

At a time when a question of the utmost magnitude is to be agitated in the great council of the nation,—when a subject is to be discussed in which our dearest rights are involved, we should be wanting in that duty we owe to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, if we neglected to exercise the inherent and unalienable right of instructing our representatives

to speak our sentiments in the senate. Not that we entertain a doubt of the consistency of your conduct, for we know that your and our sentiments are, on this subject, the same; but we deem it highly proper that our opinions should be conveyed to you in the most public and regular manner.

We, your constituents, do therefore instruct you, gentlemen, to exert your utmost abilities in parliament, to promote a full, effectual, and radical reform in the representation of the people, keeping in view as the guide of your conduct, the great principles laid down by the delegates of the Volunteer army of Ulster on this subject. And we strictly enjoin you, as the faithful trustees and guardians of our properties, as well as of our liberties and lives, ON NO ACCOUNT in future to consent to any bill of supply for a longer term than twelve months; and with the utmost of your power to oppose any bill of supply for more than six months, until such reform in the representation shall be completely effected.

On the motion of Mr Robert Thompson, and seconded by Rowley Heyland, Esq.—

Resolved, unanimously,—That these resolutions and instructions be published in the next Belfast papers, and Dublin Evening Post, and also the answers of the members when received.

JOHN BROWN, Sheriff

The sheriff having left the chair, and James Leslie, Esq. taken it;

Resolved, unanimously,—That the thanks of this assembly be given to our worthy high sheriff for calling this meeting, and for the strict propriety of his conduct in the chair.

To the Freeholders of the County of Antrim.

GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honour to receive from the high sheriff your instructions to your representatives in parliament, which were agreed to at the county meeting held at Antrim, on the 11th instant, and shall not fail to obey them with the utmost attention in my power.

JOHN O'NEILL

Shanes-Castle, 13th Oct. 1783.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Antrim.

GENTLEMEN,

My principles on the great national question on which I had this day the honour to receive your instructions are already fixed ; and I am happy to find that my sense of duty and your wishes coincide. The declarations of so respectable a body of men as your county contains, must ever have weight with the nation ; and I return you my thanks for thus giving energy and force to my vote in parliament, which unsupported by your concurrence, it would never command. I trust the time is not remote, when the franchises which you exercise with so much honour to yourselves, will be extended to every body of independent men in the kingdom. I shall promote this object by following your instructions ; and if the other counties of Ireland exert themselves with the same wisdom, steadiness, and zeal, which have distinguished the county of Antrim, the constitutional connection between the people and the representative body must be re-established.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obliged friend, and faithful representative,

HERCULES ROWLEY."

Dublin, Mary Street, Oct. 14, 1783.

In the autumn of this year, the Gilford Battalion, the Donaghcloney Company and the Comber Volunteers indignant at the conduct of their respective commandants in using unconstitutional means to induce freeholders to vote against, *their inclinations*, formed themselves into new Companies under the names of the Tullylish real Volunteers, the Donaghcloney Independents, and the Comber True Blues. On this occasion the BELFAST Volunteer company assembled and unanimously expressed their approbation of such truly patriotic proceedings in the following terms :—

“ At a meeting of the BELFAST Volunteer Company, at the Market-House, on the 30th October, 1788.

Capt. WILLIAM BROWN, in the Chair,

The following Address was unanimously agreed to :—

To the Tullylish real Volunteers, the Comber True Blues, and the Donaghcloney Volunteers.

GENTLEMEN,

As independent citizens and Volunteers, we have beheld your late proceedings with singular pleasure.

In vindicating your *inherent rights*, you have done credit to yourselves, and to the body at large of which you are now an honourable part.

We congratulate you on a separation which throws into the public scale, *councils* and *actions*, proceeding NOT from the *tyrannical Mandate* of an *Individual*, but from the uninfluenced reason of Freemen who boldly think for themselves.

Such examples as you hold out must teach the Commanders of *Volunteer Corps* that it is not rank or fortune, but merit only that can ensure the esteem of their fellow citizens.

We wish you that success which the justice of your cause so richly merits, and shall always be happy to conciliate your friendship and esteem.

WILLIAM BROWN, Chairman."

Reply of the Donaghcloney Real Independents to the Address of the Belfast Volunteer Company.

"At a meeting of the Donaghcloney real Independents, on Parade, 19th of November 1783, it was unanimously agreed, that the following Address of the Belfast Company, be communicated through the public Papers :

GENTLEMEN,

To share with our much esteemed brethren in your approbation, and to be called to a participation of your friendship, must be highly pleasing and flattering to us in every situation ; but more especially when struggling to redress those temporary inconveniences to which the vindication of our rights has exposed us.

Animated with independent principles, regardless of every danger, and resolved to encounter every difficulty in the glorious cause of freedom, the virtuous applause of the Belfast Volunteer Company is not only an encouraging motive to perseverance, but also adds wings to our alacrity, and fresh vigour to our exertions in the honourable pursuit.

Confident of your friendship, we offer our warmest thanks for the honour of your Address, and are,

Gentlemen, Your much obliged

Humble Servants,

THE DONAGHCLOONEY REAL INDEPENDENTS.

Signed by Order,

ANDREW HAMILTON, Sec.

P. S. As several reasons concurred to prevent an earlier meeting of the Company, yet we can assure you, Gentlemen, that though last in our acknowledgments, we are among the first in gratitude."

According to an instruction from the Dungannon meeting, the Delegates of the four provinces assembled in a NATIONAL CONVENTION, on the 10th of November, in the ROTUNDA of DUBLIN, where they drew up a plan of *Parliamentary Reform*. (For the result of this celebrated assembly, see *the History of Ireland, Printed by George Berwick*.) The following delegates attended from the County of Antrim. Col. John O'Neill, Col. Rowley, Lieutenant. Col. Sharman, Col. T. Morris Jones, and Capt. W. T. Jones. In the State of the Borough Representation drawn up for the Convention, BELFAST is estimated to contain 15000 inhabitants, and the electors to consist of a Sovereign and 12 Burgesses, 5 of whom only are resident.

ADDRESS OF THE FIRST BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY
TO HENRY FLOOD, IN VINDICATION OF HIS CONDUCT AT
THE DUNGANNON MEETING, WITH HIS ANSWER.

"At a meeting of the first Belfast Volunteer Company, agreeable to public notice,

Mr GEORGE WELLS in the Chair.

It having been asserted in an illiberal attack lately made in the House of Commons on Henry Flood, Esq. who was unanimously chosen one of our delegates to the Dungannon meeting on the 8th of September last, "that he absconded from the Dungannon delegation."

Resolved, unanimously.—That we are happy in this public

manner to declare our perfect approbation of his conduct on that occasion ; and although he was prevented by a severe indisposition from attending in his place, yet we entertain a grateful sense of the essential services rendered to the meeting by his wisdom and advice.—The following Address was then unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be transmitted to Colonel Flood.

To Colonel HENRY FLOOD.

SIR.—At a time when this kingdom is loaded with an enormous Pension-List, and an accumulating national debt, we should be wanting in our duty to our country, and to posterity, were we to omit expressing our warmest approbation of your endeavours in attempting a reduction of our national expence, by lessening the number of the standing army.

The reasons you assign for it are solid and substantial, and in our opinion, no weighty arguments can be adduced to prove the necessity of supporting a numerous military establishment in a time of profound peace. We admire that uniformity of patriotism which has so eminently marked your character, and has induced you to support those measures of every administration that were for the advantage of this country ; and to oppose those of every administration that were inimical to its rights. This has raised your name beyond the reach of illiberal declamation, and must endear it to posterity.

Persevere, Sir ! Continue to exert your unequalled abilities in fixing the internal constitution of this kingdom on a permanent solid foundation : The voice of the people is your support, and the voice of the people *must* be attended to. It is the purity of the constitution that gives one country the preference to another, and marks the genius of the inhabitants in a most

distinguishing manner. We hope the period is drawing nigh, when the senate will speak the wishes of the people, when our national expence shall not exceed our revenue, and when our liberty shall be complete.

May you long live, the asserter, and watchful-guardian of the liberties of Ireland, and enjoy, as you most justly merit, the satisfaction arising from the applause of your fellow-citizens.

(Signed by order,)

GEORGE WELLS, Chairman.

MR FLOOD'S Answer.

To the Belfast First Volunteer Company.

GENTLEMEN,

I beg leave to return to you my warmest acknowledgments for your very honourable testimony as to my past conduct, and for your distinguishing confidence in my wishes to promote your future service, and to establish the dignity of parliament on the solid foundation of an adequate Reform.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged and

Obedient humble servant,

HENRY FLOOD."

December 1.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION CLUBS OF BELFAST AND LISBURN TO USE THEIR UTMOST EXERTIONS IN THE SUPPORT OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCY OF THE ENSUING ELECTION AT GARRICK-FERGUS.

"At a full meeting of Inhabitants of BELFAST, members of the Constitution Club, Mr WILLIAM BROWN, in the Chair :—

Resolved, unanimously,—That, to support the *freedom and independence of Election*, was the great object of our entering into this association.

Resolved, unanimously,—That, by the virtuous struggles of our much respected brethren of LISBURN, they have emancipated their borough from the galling yoke of slavery, and returned to parliament the men of their choice—men worthy of representing a Free People!

Resolved unanimously,—That, as an Election is shortly to take place at CARRICKFERGUS, we call upon the Electors of that ancient and respectable Corporation—we conjure them, by all the ties of affection, friendship, and neighbourhood—by a love for their country, and its dearest rights, to imitate the bright example of Lisburn's worthy inhabitants.

Resolved unanimously,—That we hereby pledge our faith to each other, and to the free and independent Electors of the county of the town of CARRICKFERGUS, that, should any of them be injured in property or person, by voting as their consciences dictate, we will, by every exertion in our power, endeavour to obtain them justice, and we will make ample reparation to them for loss of property.

WILLIAM BROWN, Chairman."

" At a numerous meeting of the Constitution Club, Lisburn, Dec. 3, 1783 ;—Mr JOHN KENLEY, President.

Resolved unanimously,—That as we feel ourselves happy in our emancipation from the shackles of lordly oppression, so it is our sincere wish that all our fellow-citizens should enjoy that happiness which results from the uncontrouled exercise of their dearest rights, and the firm establishment of their political liberty.

Resolved,—That, as an election is expected shortly to take place at Carrickfergus, where the virtuous electors may be exposed to the resentment of aristocratical power, we will most heartily concur with our friends in Belfast, in making every exertion in our power to support and protect every elector in that ancient and respectable Corporation, who may suffer oppression on account of his public virtue.

Resolved,—That as our efforts in the cause of freedom have been crowned with success, in opposition to all the arts of designing men, we call upon our friends in Carrickfergus, to persevere in the glorious cause in which they have engaged, and their virtuous struggles must end in victory. We trust that the late shameful defection of one of their Representatives will give stability to their spirits, and rouse them to spurn the interference of a man who there is little probability will act a better part, from his intimate connection with the leaders of administration.

Signed by Order,

JOHN BELL, Secretary.

Belfast Division in the Constitution Club,

February 12, 1783.

We have received the most authentic information that John Witherup, a Freeman of Carrickfergus, was taken on Wednesday last, on an attachment from the Court of that Town, and lodged in jail. The cause of this committal, was a debt of about *Six Pounds*, due by bond to *John Greer*, a tenant of *Mr Dobbs*. Greer told Witherup he did so, *because he would not consent to vote for Mr Hewitt*, and forfeit a previous engagement he had made to *Mr Cunningham*; fortunate-

ly for Witherup some Members of the *Constitution Club* happened to be present, who procured bail to the Court, and set him at liberty to give a vote *according to his conscience*.

Signed by order of the Club,

JOHN HENDERSON."

"EMIGRATION.

In this year (1783) the number of emigrants to America from the port of Belfast was 1470 ; and from Dublin upwards of 1000 ; Newry about 700 : and Londonderry about 800. — It is computed that 5000 is about the aggregate number that sailed from Ireland in that year."

1784, January. — "We can assure our readers that the Belfast Society (consisting of about 45 members) have on the 1st of this instant, began the year with the most laudable and praise worthy resolution of paying for the education of a certain number of *very poor Boys* yearly. All applications in this case to be made to the following persons, who were last Thursday elected (by ballot) a Committee for the present year: — Amyas Griffith, Esq ; Mr Craige, Mr Drennan, Mr R. Osborne, Mr Lamb."

On the 5th of January, a very numerous Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Antrim, was held at the Court-House of Antrim, — HENRY O'HARA, Esq. in the chair, — and a petition to the House of Commons, in favour of a radical REFORM of parliament was agreed to, (one only dissentient.) At the same time instructions were ordered to be presented to Messrs O'Neill and Rowley, representatives for the county, directing them to support the cause of reform (as agreed to in the National Convention,) "with all their powers."

January 7.—“ At a meeting of the BELFAST TROOP, on Wednesday the 7th January, 1784, pursuant to public notice,—
Cornet BURDEN, in the Chair.

The Resolutions entered into and Petition prepared by the freeholders of the county of Antrim, on the 6th January, respecting a Parliamentary Reform being read and taken into consideration :—

Resolved unanimously,—That we are convinced of the propriety and necessity of the said Resolutions and Petition; and as nothing can contribute more to render them effectual than the strict union and reciprocal assistance of freeholders and volunteers; that therefore we will support with our lives and fortunes the said freeholders in all their exertions to promote the Plan of Parliamentary Reform adopted by them, to enforce the true spirit of their resolutions, and to obtain a more equal Representation of the People, against the unconstitutional combinations of borough-mongers and aristocratic influence.

Resolved,—That it is at this time indispensibly necessary for, and we earnestly recommend it to the volunteers of Ireland, to improve their discipline and increase their numbers.

Signed,—JOHN BURDEN.

To be published six times in the Belfast News-Letter and Dublin Evening Post.”

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BELFAST, AT THE MEETING HELD TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE QUESTION OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

December, 1783.—“ *To the Inhabitants of Belfast.*

GENTLEMEN,

We whose names are subscribed, inhabitants of the Town of Belfast, request a very general Meeting of the inhabitants, at the Town-House, precisely as 12 strikes, on Thursday the 8th

of January next, "for the purpose of taking into consideration what further measures are necessary to effectuate a Reform of the Representation of the People in Parliament, and such other matters as may be laid before them."

As the object of your Meeting involves in it every thing dear to freemen, we cannot doubt but the assembly will be numerous and respectable.

James Luke	John S. Ferguson	Thomas Lyons
Thomas Andrews	Samuel M'Tier	Thomas M'Cabe
William Stevenson	John Stevenson	John Campbell White
Robert Bradshaw,	Thomas Sinclair,	William Auchinleck,
Robert Carson,	J. Pattersop,	Alexander Orr,
John Burden,	W. Blizzard,	William Wilson,
William Sinclair,	John Cunningham,	James Graham,
Robert Stevenson,	Alexander Stewart,	David Tomb,
James Ferguson, Jun.	Hercules Heyland,	James Magee,
John Campbell,	Robert Hyndman,	John Callwell,
William Brown,	John Hamilton,	Daniel Blow."
James Bryson,	Robert Thomson,	

TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST, January 8, 1784.

"At a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast, convened by public advertisement, signed by thirty-five inhabitants;—

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Esq. in the Chair.

A motion being made, and unanimously agreed to, that the resolutions entered into by the Freeholders of the County of Antrim, convened on the 5th instant at Antrim, by public notice from the High Sheriff, be now read, the same were read accordingly.

A motion being then made, that this meeting doth highly approve of the said Resolutions of the Freeholders of the County of Antrim, and that we adopt them as our own, with

such alterations only as are necessary to accommodate them to the local circumstances of the place :

The said resolutions were again read and considered paragraph by paragraph, and the question separately put and unanimously agreed to upon each.

Resolved, unanimously,—That the Petition now read and approved of, with the plan of reform digested by the National Convention and adopted by us, be signed by the inhabitants of this town, and forwarded by our Chairman to the Hon. Hercules Rowley, and the Right Hon. John O'Neill, with the letter hereunto subjoined,

To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Belfast, convened in the Town-House by public notice, on the 8th day of January, 1784.

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners in the most humble and respectful manner, take leave to represent to your Hon. House,

That Belfast is a large and populous town, containing above 15,000 inhabitants, carrying on a very extensive foreign commerce, as well as inland trade, and paying annually upwards of £80,000 towards the public revenue.

That this numerous body of people not being represented in your Hon. House, are contrary to the fundamental principle of the constitution, governed by laws to which they give no assent ; for although the borough of Belfast sends two Members to Parliament, yet those members are returned (under the immediate direction of a noble Peer,) by five or six Burgesses, in the appointment of whom your Petitioners have no

share, and therefore the Members so returned cannot in ANY sense, be deemed the Representatives of your Petitioners.

(Here follows the County Petition :)

COUNTY PETITION.

That, since the origin of Parliaments, their duration hath been dangerously extended ; and a great proportion of our Representatives nominated by a few Peers and Commoners—either for indigent boroughs, nearly destitute of inhabitants—or for considerable places, where the Rights of Freemen are unjustly confined to a few ; whereby the highest trusts of society are often placed in the hands of men, who, not deriving their delegation from the people, seldom deign to speak their language.

That your Petitioners with deep concern observed the little regard paid by Members of Boroughs in your Hon. House, to the moderate wishes of a people,—inferior to none in pure principles of loyalty to their Prince, and inviolate attachment to legitimate government,—in a late refusal to two illustrious senators to bring in a bill calculated to repair the democratic pillar of the constitution, by a more equal representation of the people in parliament.

That we heartily approve of the annexed Plan of Reform, which is eminently distinguished by moderation and by reverence for ancient foundations ; as Freeholders and Freemen, we recommend its adoption to your Hon. House, as the means of lessening aristocratic influence, of relieving our gracious Sovereign from odious trammels, and the State from accumulating burthens.

That his Majesty's faithful subjects, in the present stage of their efforts to procure a due influence in the popular council of the realm, are impelled by a laudable desire to preserve the

just prerogatives of the Crown, the inherent privileges of the Lords, and the indefeasible rights of the great body of Commons; conscious that nothing short of a substantial reformation can avert the alarming encroachments of an aristocracy, that by possessing the return of Members to the House of Commons, saps the fundamental franchise of the People, and in destroying the balance of our government, threatens ruin to the constitution.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Hon. House will be pleased to take the said Plan of a Parliamentary Reform into serious and early deliberation, in such manner and form as to your wisdom may seem meet:—AND, as the stability of all governments founded on the principle of freedom, can only rest secure on mutual confidence and harmony between the governors and those who are governed, we trust, that on mature reflection, the Commons' House, by a noble acquiescence in the united voice of a people, with equal temper and energy calling for a Reform, will, at once, crown the virtuous pursuit with the success it deserves, and transmit the memory of so dignified an event with honour to posterity.

[In the original the Convention Plan of Reform will here follow.]

To the Hon: Hercules Rowley, and Right Hon. John O'Neill,

GENTLEMEN,

We the inhabitants of the town of Belfast, at a full meeting convened by public notice, having agreed on a Petition to the Hon. House of Commons, praying for a reform in the representation of the people, request the favour of you to present the same, and earnestly entreat you to support with all your powers the plan of reform therewith annexed.

The decided part you have already taken in this great business, leaves no room to doubt your ready acquiescence on the present occasion with the wishes of a large and populous town; forming a part of that county which you with so much honour to it and to yourselves, represent in the great council of the nation—nor can we doubt the support of every virtuous senator, of every *real* representative, to a plan of reform demanded as their right by the united voice of a loyal and enlightened people, groaning under aristocratic oppression: a right which, for our own part, we will not yield but with our lives.

Should others oppose the wishes of the nation, we entreat you to warn them, and in the strongest manner to urge, that if by their unwise and ill-timed opposition they should drive the people to despair, they, and they only, will be answerable to God and to their injured country for the consequences that may ensue.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the following Address to the Volunteers of Ireland be published with these Resolutions:—

THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BELFAST, CONVENED ON THE 8th OF JANUARY, 1784.

To the Volunteers of Ireland.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.—Permit us, as a part of the collective body of the people, to return you our warmest thanks for an uniform course of eminent services: services, which, in rendering yourselves respected by all the nations of the earth, have left indelible impressions of veneration on the minds of your admiring countrymen,—and will adorn the history of the age with events unparalleled in the annals of the world.

Possessed of these sentiments, we hold it an indispensable

duty to assure you, that we more highly, if possible, disapprove of the manner and principles on which leave was lately refused to bring into a great assembly a bill for the more equal representation of the people, than the refusal itself; it being, we apprehend, an inconsistent, ungrateful, and unnecessary expression of contempt for the community at large, through an august body of citizens, who, by arming themselves to free the land from external tyranny, could not have forfeited a single civil right. *Inconsistent*, because their existence was even warranted by repeated addresses of two branches of the legislature: *ungrateful*, because the Volunteers were entitled to every testimony of respect from that assembly, whose private properties they had secured, whose dignity they had restored, and whose constitutional authority they had successfully vindicated; and *unnecessary*, because it is an odious truth, that the minister might, for the time, have defeated the plan, by the accustomed arts of secret corruption, without resorting to the new expedient of OPEN INTIMIDATION.—We trust, however, that the People, conscious that the means of obtaining their object are as powerful as the object is just—will view all attempts at intimidation with unconcern, and derive new spirit from indignation!

We conclude, by solemnly beseeching you to persevere—to increase in numbers, and to improve in discipline; for the interests of your country urgently demand it."

January ()—ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN BY THE INHABITANTS OF BELFAST, TO HERCULES ROWLEY AND JOHN O'NEILL, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

"Yesterday, the inhabitants of this town, anxious to express their high sense of the exemplary conduct of the worthy knight

of the shire for the county of Antrim, gave a public entertainment to the Hon. Hercules Rowley, and the Right Hon. John O'Neill. The meeting was a very great one, and the evening closed with illuminations, bonfires, and every other expression of joy that the numerous inhabitants of this place, of all classes, could possibly testify. We may venture to pronounce, that Ireland would not long be depressed by the influence of a domineering aristocracy, were the majority of those, who term themselves representatives of the People, to emulate such virtues, and inherit similar applause from their admiring fellow-citizens.—Waddell Cunningham, Esq. was nominated to preside at the meeting, and the following toasts, which convey the spirit that animated the company, were drank :

Our worthy representatives, Mr Rowley and Mr O'Neill.—The King of Ireland.—The Queen and Royal Family.—The Volunteers of Ireland, and justice to their enemies.—The independent Electors of Ireland.—A more equal representation of the Men of Ireland.—The Grand National Convention.—The virtuous Minority of the House of Commons, on the 29th of November last, and may they, aided by the voice of the People, become the Majority.—May we never give up our Rights but with our Lives (*three cheers!*)—Spirit and unanimity to the People of Ireland.—The 15th of February, 1782.—The 8th of September, 1783.—The County of Antrim, and may every County be as faithfully represented.—Mr Forde, and the independent Freeholders of the County of Down, assembled at Downpatrick on the 17th instant.—Mr Flood and Mr Brownlow, and may their next attempt to establish the Rights of the People, be crowned with success.—The Duke of Richmond, and the friends of Parliamentary Reform in Great Britain.—Mr Pitt, and may he equal the virtues of his Father.

—May mutual affection ever subsist between America and Ireland.—The independent Electors of the county of Down, and may they follow the glorious example of the county of Antrim, at the next Election.—Mr Wyvill, and the York Association.—The Society for Constitutional Information.—Lord Charlemont.—Lord Donegall (*three cheers!*)—Lord Chichester.—The Town and Trade of Belfast (by Mr O'Neill).—The ancient, spirited, and loyal Corporation of Carrickfergus (by Mr Rowley).—Mrs O'Neill (*three cheers!*)

To the Gentlemen of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—It gives us the greatest satisfaction that our conduct in the great council of the nation has met with your approbation.

We are happy, Gentlemen, in having this opportunity of returning you our most sincere thanks for the many favours you have so liberally conferred on us: and we trust, by strictly adhering to those principles on which we had the honour of your support at the late general election (we mean an inviolable attachment to the cause and rights of the People,) that we shall merit a continuance of that confidence which has hitherto been placed in us by so respectable a part of our constituents, and so independent a body of men as the gentlemen of Belfast.

In our opinion, a more equal representation of the People is absolutely necessary, and the independent part of the Irish nation with one voice loudly calls for it.—If the friends of Ireland continue to act with the same moderation and firmness which have hitherto guided their steps—Justice must prevail; and the almost unanimous wishes of a great and free people be in the end gratified.—You may depend on our support on this great national question.

The Petition which you have done us the honour to trust to our care, shall be presented to the House of Commons:—and be assured, that no endeavours of ours shall be wanting, by every constitutional means, to render it effectual.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged Friends,

And Faithful Representatives,

HENRY ROWLEY,
JOHN O'NEILL."

"March.—The county of Antrim and the town of Belfast Petitions are to be transmitted this day to Dublin, by Mr Cunningham, who goes to take his seat in the House: the former has about 4000 names to it, procured in a fair and honourable manner; and would have had at least 2000 more, had not the extreme inclemency of the weather prevented above a third part of the copies from being returned in time.

The county of Down one is also sent, with 4633 signatures of real freeholders; also one from the parish of Carmoney, signed by every male inhabitant in it."

"March, 13.—The Hon. Mr Hewitt (the late unsuccessful candidate for Carrickfergus,) was returned by the Sovereign and Burgesses of Belfast, to represent that Borough."

RESULT OF THE PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT FOR REFORM.

"Extract of a Letter from Dublin, March 23.

I am, I think, well informed, and I would not mention it if I did not really believe it to be a fact, that the Lord Lieu-

tenant and his Secretary are friends to the Reform ; but that the great men here told him if he acted so, he would lose their support.

To the honour of the county of Antrim; no less than *eight* of their faithful representatives voted for the Reform Bill—and only *two* against it—and those two the nominal representatives of 15,000 inhabitants of Belfast. Happy state of Irish representation, where the sense of so many thousands is lost in the interest of two men ! ! !

The total number of petitions that lay on the table of the House of Commons, for a Reform was about *forty—twenty* six of which for counties. A measure we are told is in agitation, which will shake corruption to its centre, if carried into execution. The Earl of Charlemont declared, after the division of Saturday, that the people will yet infallibly carry their point, if they do their duty.” *

“ March ()—Captain Abraham Rahash, and his son Rahash, two Turks, taken prisoners by the Spaniards in attempting to bring relief to the garrison of Gibraltar, and had afterwards escaped and got to Leith, from whence they came to this town, well recommended by the Grand Lodge of Scotland,—visited the Orange Lodge, No. 257, where they were treated with every respect, civility, and love, by the Brethern of that numerous and respectable body ; who gave them a recommendation to other Lodges, and a sum of money to enable them to return to Constantinople, the place of their nativity. How grateful to the liberal mind, to perceive the distinction of *Turk* and *Christian*, in short, all local and re-

* See also the *History of Ireland*, printed by George Barwick, Belfast, 1815. page 208.

ligious prejudices, sunk in the more sublime affection which, as the offspring of one common parent, we all owe to one another; and which every sound principle of religion and virtue never fails to heighten into pure philanthropy, when not obscured by the rankest bigotry and ignorance."

April.—PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF BELFAST, TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AGAINST THE BILL FOR RESTRAINING THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

"Yesterday (by adjournment,) the inhabitants of this town assembled in order to declare their abhorrence of the Bill now ordered to the Lords, for restraining the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, when a Petition to the Peers was agreed to, couched in the following terms; which was last night transmitted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont.

To the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Memorial and Petition of the inhabitants of Belfast, regularly convened by public notice.

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners have with deep concern observed a bill lately brought into the House of Commons, which they fear may already be under the consideration of your Lordship's, under the title of "An act to secure the Liberty of the Press, by preventing the abuses arising from the publication of traitorous, seditious, false, and scandalous libels,"—though in fact, it is calculated to restrain that spirit [of independency and free examination of public men and measures, which is

essential to the existence of a free government; and, as their natural concomitant, has grown up and flourished with the arts, arms, and liberties of the empire.

THAT your petitioners humbly imagine that said Bill, instead of being founded on the principles or genius of the Constitution, is totally repugnant to them, and owes its origin to the personal resentment of individuals.

THAT your petitioners humbly conceive that the law, as it at present stands, makes every wise provision which the spirit of our free government can warrant, for reaching such acts of licentiousness as are injurious to the persons or properties of any of his Majesty's subjects.

THAT said bill was hurried through the House of Commons with uncommon precipitancy, at a time when a great number of Members, by leave of absence, had returned to their respective countries, and had it not in their power to oppose so flagrant an attack on the liberties of their constituents.

THAT the popular branch of the Legislature is at present in so ruinous a state, that the sense of the Representatives, ceases to be that of the Collective Body: in consequence of which, the constitution as well as the Commerce of this kingdom, is very inadequately protected by a house that spurns the controul, and disdains to comply with the just demands of a people, whose loyalty to their Prince, can only be equalled by their attachment to the Constitution, over which he presides.

Your petitioners with much humility, submit their opinion on this subject to your Lordships, the hereditary Counsellors of the Crown, and in common with the other Branches, the natural Conservators of the Constitution:—in the hope, that as no Minister would dare, with impunity, to offer a Bill so

pernicious in its tendency to the consideration of a Sister Nation, your Lordships will not suffer it to be embodied with the present laws of the land."

"The petition of the town of Belfast to the House of Lords, against the bill for restraining the press, reached the Earl of Charlemont only a few hours previous to the final determination of their Lordships in favour of the bill. Mr Calwell, the Chairman of the Meeting, has received a very polite letter from his Lordship, which fully proves the inutility of its presentation in so late a stage; especially as the alterations the bill has undergone, has rendered it, in his Lordship's conception, perfectly innoxious.

As a further reason for the worthy and venerable Charlemont's not presenting the petition—we are well assured it is contrary to all precedent to give opposition in the Lord's House, to any bill after the Committee have reported—which was the stage in which the arrival of our petition reached his Lordship."

April 24.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS TO GIVE EXCLUSIVE ENCOURAGEMENT TO IRISH MANUFACTURES.

"Town-House, Belfast,

"At a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Belfast, held on the 24th April, 1784.—

J. C. WHITE, M. D. in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

WHEREAS, the Manufacturers of Ireland are suffering every accumulated misery which want of employment and extreme indigence can produce;—distresses, the natural and inevitable consequence of the great import and consumption of foreign

manufactures in Wool, Cotton, Silk, and the mixtures thereof; and of the delay and refusal of Parliament to foster and encourage the home manufacture of these several branches by protecting duties, after the uniform example of every wise and commercial nation: **AND WHEREAS**, our wretched Manufacturers and Fellow Countrymen have now no other resource but in the virtue and public spirit of the people at large, whose duty it is to encourage the cultivation and consumption of Irish Manufacture, not only from the principles of policy, but of humanity; of justice, but of consistency.

Resolved, therefore,—That we whose names are hereunto subscribed, the Inhabitants of Belfast, in token of our sincerity, and with the humble hope of these, or Resolutions similar thereto, being adopted by the people of Ireland in their Towns, Parishes, and all manner of Societies, do pledge ourselves by the sacred ties of truth and honour, that we will not, from the day of our signing this Paper, wear or consume, or suffer any person or persons in any of our families, or over whom we have influence, to wear or consume, any WOOLLEN, COTTON, or SILKEN Goods, or any mixture thereof, which shall not be of Irish Manufacture, (excepting such foreign Manufactures as are now on hand, and to be ascertained in manner hereinafter to be mentioned,) until a system of Protecting Duties, or a commercial Treaty or Treaties, shall have taken place; and that then the Chairman of this Meeting, or any fifteen Members of this Association shall convene the Inhabitants of this Town for the purpose of taking the same into consideration; and if it shall appear to the said Meeting that such System of Duties, or such Treaty or Treaties are sufficiently adequate to the purpose of establishing the Manufactures of Ireland upon a solid, durable, and equit-

able foundation, that from thenceforth, and not sooner, all and every of us shall be released from this agreement.

That we will not deal with, or purchase from any merchant or shopkeeper, any of the above specified manufactures, who will not take, subscribe, and publish the following Affidavit:

“ I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, that I will not myself sell or dispose of, nor will I suffer any person for me, or for my use or benefit, to sell or dispose of any Woollen, Cotton, or Silken goods, or any mixture thereof, which shall be of foreign manufacture—under the denomination of Irish manufacture; and that I will really and *bona fide* acquaint every person who shall buy, or offer to buy from me any of the above-mentioned species of goods, of the true country where such goods were manufactured; and whether the same, or any, and which of them, were purchased after the 24th of April, 1784, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, if the same shall be required of me by such person or persons.”

That the ladies of this town are requested, as they tender the interests of their native country, and the character of this place, to give every possible encouragement to Irish, in preference to all other manufacture, by entering into similar associations; and therein set an example, which will, it is earnestly to be hoped, be very generally followed in other places, and will at all events entitle them to the applause and respect of many thousands of their fellow-creatures, at present languishing under every species of distress.

That we will not deal with, or purchase from, or suffer any person or persons in our families, or over whom we have any influence, to deal with or purchase from any person or persons who shall import or receive into their warehouses or custody, any foreign manufactures of Wool, Cotton, or Silk, or any mix-

ture thereof, from the date of this association (except such as shall have been already purchased, and to be ascertained as aforesaid,) until the 1st of January, 1785.

That in order to give effect to the above Resolutions, to prevent their being evaded, and to hold up to public contempt such as shall transgress the same, the following persons be appointed a Committee to inspect into such of the above goods as are now upon hands, or shall be imported from thence into this district; and to publish to their fellow-citizens the name or names of the person or persons who shall so import the same, viz.—Robert Thomson, Nathaniel Wilson, Thomas Brown, John Neilson, James Hyndman, H. Joy, Jun. Alexander Stewart, Robert Bradshaw, and John Brown.

Resolved.—That although the necessity of the times requires an immediate attention to the encouragement of our manufactures, yet—

We consider the present, *and every other political object*, as subordinate to, and chiefly valuable as connected with, a reform of the depraved state of Representation in the Irish House of Commons:

We therefore renew our pledge to the community, to accompany the rest of the kingdom with a steady determined pace, advancing from stage to stage in this glorious pursuit, till a complete conquest be obtained over every power that shall vainly attempt to subject the collective body of the people to a state of *ignominious vassalage*.

And we hereby request that the gentlemen who composed the ULSTER COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, will be pleased to communicate with characters of approved integrity and knowledge, in Ireland and elsewhere, for the purpose of obtaining

the best advice regarding the next step to be taken by the unpolluted part of the kingdom, in pursuit of a Reform in Parliament.

(Signed in the name of the inhabitants at large)

JOHN CAMPBELL WHITE, Chairman."

"The virtue of the American ladies during the late unhappy war, in purchasing the plainest dresses wrought in their own States, rather than the most gaudy ones of the mother country, has often been mentioned to their honour, and will make a pleasing, if not a splendid figure in the history of American emancipation. Is an Irishwoman less capable of a love for her native country than an American?—certainly not. That lady then, who shall first set the example of forming a female association, for the consumption of such Irish manufactures as in any degree approach the English, will merit the gratitude and respect of her country; considering our amazing quantities of British goods under this description. Belfast has more than once stepped forward in public matters, and is now likely to do it in the present instance;—how much would its conduct be heightened, were even a single matron to be found, whose spirit, good sense, and patriotism, would induce to take a lead in this business, by setting on foot such an association, and proving that our public virtue is not confined to sex, but pervades every description of our inhabitants.

☞ Since writing the above, we are happy to find that several Belfast ladies have, to their own and their town's credit, declared their willingness to devote every necessary attention to promote such a female association as is above recommended."

PROCEEDINGS PREPARATORY TO THE BELFAST REVIEW.

“ The committees of the Belfast 1st Company, the Belfast Volunteer Company, the Belfast Union, and Belfast Troop, beg leave to request, that the annual meeting of delegates may be held as usual, on the 17th of March next, at the Donegall Arms, at the hour of ONE o'clock, for the purpose of determining on the time, place, and manner of a Review for the present year, which may seem best calculated to promote the interests of the Volunteer cause.

They hope they need not apologise for taking this liberty, as the necessity of preserving the military spirit in its fullest vigour by convenient reviews, is apparent to all possessed of loyalty to their prince, and abhorrence of the predominating corruptions of the constitution, or who reflect on the possible necessity there may be for the most active exertions.

(Signed by order)

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, *Belfast 1st Company.*

WILLIAM BROWN, *Belfast Volunteer Company.*

THOMAS LYONS, *Belfast Union.*

JOHN BURDEN, *Belfast Troop.”*

Accordingly, on the 17th of March, a meeting of representatives of 31 corps of Volunteers was held at the Donegall Arms,

Major ALEXANDER G. STEWART in the Chair;

Resolved, unanimously.—“ That a review be held in the neighbourhood of Belfast on the 12th of July ensuing; and that we will not associate with any corps at the ensuing review, that shall continue under the command of officers who have signed a memorial to parliament in opposition to the declared sense of the people of Ireland, on the subject of a MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION.”

*"To the Delegates of 31 Corps of Volunteers, assembled at
Belfast, March 17, 1784.*

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with the most perfect sense of the honour done me, your nomination to the Office of *Exercising Officer* for the ensuing Review. Every day's experience convinces me of the necessity of Volunteers maintaining their discipline and vigour. These bad men among us who *now* venture to detract from their character and merits, only wait the hour of their decline and dissolution, to plunge this country again in poverty and servitude.

In Ulster I contemplate the steady supporters of Irish Rights; and at BELFAST I glory in the Body who shewed the precedent.—Aristocracy—Venality—Self-elected Parliaments—and British Interests, must sink before such a virtuous Phalanx. But if we should be unsuccessful, at least it will testify "our lives have had some smack of honour in them,"—and they who enslave us will have a tough bout of it, contending with men who postpone life to liberty.

The North disdains partial rights—she contemplates with equal affection her catholic and protestant sons; and when she demanded from Britain a restoration of her trade, she never dreamt of permitting the domestic sale of her Legislature. I am,

Gentlemen,

your obliged, and faithful Servant,

WILLIAM T. JONES."

Dublin, March 23, 1784.

"There are no less than six brass field pieces, six-pounders, the property of the corps of this town, of as good a cast as any

in the kingdom.—The companies are now about to mount another pair besides those already on carriages.

The Volunteer recruiting service is again *reviving* in this place and neighbourhood. In several parts the liberal inhabitants are opening subscriptions for the purchase of arms for numbers of stout fellows in the country, who are willing, though unable to purchase for themselves. The prevalent idea is, that new corps should be formed in almost every part of the kingdom, to be well armed and disciplined, without incurring the expence of uniforms, by which salutary measure it were not an exaggerated supposition that 10,000 men might be added to the northern army, and 25,000 to the national force."

April.—It is with infinite pleasure we find the resolution of some of the Volunteer Corps to instruct *every person* who pleases to attend parade, in the use of *arms*, has had the best effect possible; numbers every evening take this method of learning the military exercise. Surrounded by mercenary troops—the Liberty of the Press restrained—and the desire of the nation frustrated, are matters which cannot escape our notice, and call upon every man who values Liberty to be able to defend it."

May.—"The Secretary of the *Belfast Review* has received returns for within a few of 3000 men. It is no exaggeration to assert, that 6000 might have been had, were it not that the delegates assembled on 17th March (very justly conceiving that *encampment* highly serves the volunteer interest,) determined that it should not be a *billeted Review*. The number that have offered with true spirit, to come from very distant parts, form a conclusive evidence, that the army of the people was at no other period more completely alive to their country's cause.

We can again with truth assure our readers that the Volunteer recruiting service, instead of relaxing, is this moment prosecuted with more vigour than ever. Numbers of clever fellows are daily enrolling themselves in the country corps that never before were in the ranks. In two nights eleven of this description voluntarily offered themselves to the DRUMBRIDGE company—and similar instances occur in almost every company for a considerable circuit round this place. Were officers at the present juncture alert, the augmentation of good men to the volunteer strength would be very great.

A new volunteer company is formed in Newry within these ten days."

"BELFAST FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANY, On Parade, May 13.

WHEREAS the interests of Ireland at the present juncture demand that all Men, sensible of the value of their Civil Rights, should be prepared to ASSERT and DEFEND them.

Resolved, therefore,—That we invite every resident in this Town or Neighbourhood, not at present enrolled in other corps, and desirous to co-operate with their fellow-citizens, without the expence of uniforms, to give in their names and places of abode in writing to our Captain; as DRILLS will be immediately appointed, where they will have the use of the company's arms, and be taught military discipline; according to the excellent example of other parts of the kingdom.

That we invite to our ranks, persons of every religious persuasion; firmly convinced that a general Union of ALL the inhabitants of Ireland is as necessary to the freedom and prosperity of this kingdom, as it is congenial to the constitution.

Signed by Order,

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Captain.

“ At a Meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, at the Exchange, 26th May.

Capt. WILLIAM BROWN in the Chair.

The following Publication was agreed to, and ordered to be inserted in the Belfast News-Papers :

Having attended with singular pleasure to the Resolutions of many of our Volunteer Brethren, by which they express their determination to instruct in the use of arms every citizen of approved character, who nobly distinguishes himself at this momentous crisis by pressing forward to join the independent army of Ireland, and to promote as far as in us lies so laudable and necessary a measure :

Resolved, unanimously.—That from henceforward our drills shall be open for the instruction of all persons of the above descriptions, whose situations in life, not their lack of courage and patriotism, may have heretofore precluded them from acquiring a knowledge of the firelock,—such men we shall receive with brotherly affection, and deem our Corps highly distinguished by an acquisition so truly honourable, and at the same time so very promising to the cause in which we are mutually engaged ; no invidious distinction shall be suffered to prevail in our admission of spirited Freemen to our drills ; superiority of virtue can alone constitute superiority of merit ; whatever be their religion, or to whatever sect they belong, if they love their country, if they revere its liberties, and in their hearts prompt them to assist in its defence, we shall consider them peculiarly eligible, and be happy in forwarding their glorious pursuits.

Resolved.—That the evenings of every Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, at 7 o'clock, be the time appointed for drilling, when a sufficient number of the Members of the Company shall attend our Parade for that purpose.

Signed by Order,

WALTER CRAWFORD, Sec."

The state of the Roman Catholics of Ireland now began, in a peculiar manner, to attract the attention of the Volunteers. The members of that sect, had long been deprived of many of the rights of freemen, in consequence of the hostility which they had ever evinced to the principles of liberty, and the toleration of their *Protestant* fellow-countrymen. But the Volunteers now began to perceive, that without the concurrence of the Romanists, a *reformed* legislature, acting *independently* of England, was not to be obtained. They were therefore resolved to run every risk to accomplish this object, and now began to openly demand an extension of the elective franchise to the members of the Roman Catholic communion. The people of Belfast were as usual foremost in expressing their sentiments on this important subject; but surely the ardour which they entertained for the civil rights of their Roman Catholic brethren did not require them to countenance, by their public attention at MASS, the religious tenets and worship of that community, and thus lower in the estimation of all rational christians, the glorious appellation of PROTESTANTS.

"The BELFAST FIRST VOLUNTEER COMPANY yesterday agreed to march to MASS next Sunday; on which day a general collection is to be made to defray the remaining debts due by the parishioners, on account of building the house, which

is neatly designed and executed. Whilst such perfect concord distinguishes the Irish nation, what moderate demand founded in truth and right, can it ever make that can long be refused?

The following remark is found in a Dublin Paper, devoted to the interest of the Court.—Volunteer Evening Post.

It must be productive of no small mortification among the few corps in this city, who have established a communion with the scum of the people, that not one armed body, but those of the virtuous WA——ll Cun——m at Belfast, have adopted the base idea of arming the multitude. They want not to revive the *rapparee* character of former times, or to teach a sanguinary *canaille* the most expert way of committing murder."

"On Sunday last (May 30,) the Belfast 1st Company, and Belfast Volunteer Company, paraded in full dress, and marched to MASS, where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr O'Donnel, and a handsome collection made to aid in defraying the expence of erecting the new Mass-house.—Great numbers of the other Protestant inhabitants also attended."

"The Roman Catholic congregation of Belfast return their grateful acknowledgments to the Belfast 1st Volunteer Company, to the Belfast Volunteer Company, and to the inhabitants at large, for their so generously enabling them to erect a handsome edifice for their celebration of divine worship. They know not in what adequate terms to express their feelings, excited by the attendance of so respectable a Protestant audience on Sunday last, at the opening of the House—the impression of which mark of regard is never to be effaced.

They have already received £84 through the munificence of the Protestants of Belfast, and will gratefully receive (through

the Rev. Mr O'Donnell,) any further benefactions toward defraying the remaining expence (about £80,) that the liberality of their brother christians may prompt."

July 8.—TOWN MEETING, TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE DUBLIN RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOUR OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SUFFRAGE, &c.

"To the Inhabitants of Belfast."

GENTLEMEN.—We request you may assemble at the town-house on Thursday next, being the 8th instant, at twelve o'clock, to take under your consideration the proceedings of the aggregate body of the city of Dublin, at their meeting held the 21st ultimo; and to determine on such measures in consequence thereof, as shall to you seem most fit and proper. In pursuit of that great object—A Reform of Parliament—the warmest and most determined efforts of the inhabitants of Belfast cannot be doubted: we are therefore convinced that the meeting will be both numerous and respectable.

Belfast, 3d July, 1784.

Alexander Haliday	William Stewart	William Boyle
Thomas Sinclaire	John Craig	John Luke
Robert Bradshaw	Robert Simms	James Ferguson
William Brown	William Sinclaire	John Neilson
James Ferguson, M. D.	John Brown	Robert Knox
Gilbert M'Ilveen	Amyas Griffith	Robert Thomson
Thomas Hardin	Thomas Brown	Patrick Gaw."
Thomas Milliken	Robert Scott	

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Belfast, in common-hall assembled, on Thursday, the 8th day of July, 1784—

Mr GILBERT M'ILVEEN in the Chair;

The resolutions of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants

of the city of Dublin, assembled at the thesaur on the 7th June last, being read and considered—

Resolved, unanimously.—That we hereby approve of said resolutions, and that we are particularly happy in this opportunity of publicly declaring our perfect coincidence of opinion with our highly respected fellow-subjects, the citizens of Dublin. That the gradual extension of *suffrage* to our too long oppressed brethren, the Roman Catholics, *preserving unimpaired the Protestant government of this country*, would be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences, and would be highly conducive to the security of civil liberty.

Resolved unanimously.—That a memorial and petition to his Majesty be prepared, praying a dissolution of the present parliament, and as a measure founded on it, that his Majesty will be pleased to issue writs for a new parliament, in conformity to the plan of representation that may be agreed upon by the actual deputies of the collective body, which are to be assembled in a NATIONAL CONGRESS at Dublin, on the 25th of October next; consisting of representatives fairly chosen by every county, city, and great town in Ireland.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the following five persons be appointed a committee to prepare the said memorial and petition, viz.—Messrs Waddell Cunningham, Henry Joy, Jun. Rev. Mr Kilburn, Messrs John Brown, and Robert Thompson; and that they report the same on Saturday, the 17th of July instant, at one o'clock, of which meeting public notice will be previously given.

GILBERT MALVEEN, Chairman."

BELFAST REVIEW, July 12.

On Sunday about 5 o'clock in the evening the approach of

the Earl of Charlemont was announced by discharge of cannon from the four brass six-pounders, belonging to this place; and the venerable General was received by the Belfast and other corps. The total number of corps which marched into town and camp, were about fifty; twenty-five of which encamped on the Old Review ground, in rear of the line of Review. Several Volunteers of Drogheda attended the Review as Spectators, in order to be witness of the steady spirit of the North, in common with that of every part of the kingdom.

Yesterday the whole body were reviewed in two Brigades (eight Battalions) and the line acquitted itself with much credit; the marchings remarkably good, and a general improvement in discipline visible to a military eye.

The corps encamped, are, the Belfast Battalion, with the two brass six pounders of the first Company; the Ulster Regiment and its two brass four pounders; the Union Regiment; the Belfast Volunteer Company, with its two brass six pounders; and the Carrickfergus Company.—Is it not much to be lamented that every regiment and company in Ireland is not prepared for real service by having camp equipage?

The number of spectators was as great as on any former occasion, and the weather proved extremely favourable.

The pleasure arising from the encreasing military ardour of the troops, was much heightened by the apparent good health and spirits of a General, who has long, in so eminent a degree, enjoyed the love and esteem of his Fellow-Citizens in arms.

The Aide-de-Camp of General Conway (the Commander in Chief in England,) was present; and it may be supposed, was not an idle spectator.

* * Lord Charlemont's Aides-de-Camp are, Sir Annesley Stewart and Colonel Lyons of Drogheda.

TUESDAY'S MOCK ENGAGEMENT.

General Orders.

After the last brigade has been reviewed, the Belfast troop, Belfast Battalion, Ulster Regiment, and the detached encamped companies, will draw up in front of their respective encampments, with the two Artillery corps of Belfast, concealed in rear of the centre of the camp. [This body to act under the command of the exercising Officer, in defence of the camp.]

In the interim, the Independent County of Down Regiment, Union Regiment, all the detached companies, *not encamped*, (with their Artillery) the Artillery of the Ulster Regiment and remainder of the Horse, will, without music, march silently up the avenue that leads to the Fall's road, from the right of the line; and be formed at the Flour Mills in a column on the right platoon of its line; Artillery in the centre of the column:—an advance guard of three platoons about fifty yards in front of column; and horse a very little distance in their front. [This body in the assault of the camp to act under the command of Col. Stewart.]

As soon as these arrangements are formed by the assailants, a gun from the Newton Artillery will be given on the road as a signal: upon which the horse of the *assailants* will advance slowly, and meeting with the other horse, will skirmish, and afterwards retire to rear of main body: main body remain till they hear their horse skirmishing with the other horse, at which they advance.

At the signal of the gun mentioned before, the horse of the *defendants* will advance very rapidly to the road, and on meeting with that of the *assailants* will skirmish, and retreat to the rear of its own column on the road. All the grenadiers and light troops of the *defendants*, under the command of Capt. Bell, at the same signal of a gun, will advance very briskly to the road in a column, and remain near Mr Blow's Mill with the Belfast 1st corps grenadiers about forty yards in front, as an advanced guard. On the retreat of its horse, *defendants* advanced guard remains till that of the enemy appears, it will then fire and retreat rapidly to its column of grenadiers and infantry. [A smart engagement to take place between the columns, observing at least eighty yards distance; the *assailants* regulating that distance by the retreat of the *defendants*.]

As the column of *defendants* retreat, infantry of Belfast 1st Company, and of Ulster Regiment will retire through the field of entrance to the review ground near the centre, and lie concealed at a proper distance behind ditches, so as to harass the enemy on its approach and in the field.

When the pursuing column of *assailants* has nearly reached the lane leading to the right of the review ground, it will halt and detach three companies silently to the Black-Staff-lane, which will conceal themselves near the entrance of it; column advances again after a few minutes.

The remainder of the *defendants*'s column retreat to the main body, and form in their respective places in the line.

The column of *assailants* breaks into three columns: two of which will fire, advancing slowly through the two lanes the publican tents form in the field leading to the review ground near the centre:

Its third column will pass through a lane that leads to the right of the line, and will lie concealed till the other columns attack the line, which they will do in street firing without advancing at any time so far as to enter the review ground.

The third column then advances into the first field, which will bring them near the right of the line, where they will attack without passing the ditch.

The *defendants* upon the appearance of the *assailants*'s columns, will rapidly form three columns to oppose them; all the artillery formed in re-re of the centre columns, so as to be concealed there.

The flanking party in ambush (infantry of Belfast 1st, and of Ulster Regiment) fire at the flanks of the *assailants* column, and retreat.

The flanking party of the *assailants* (concealed at the Black-Staff-lane) on the first attack of the columns, advance and turn the left flank of the camp, on the far side of the river; and will be opposed from the camp in such manner as shall be ordered by the Exercising Officer; but on no account either party to cross the river, nor the *assailants* to enter the meadow on the re-re of the camp.

The whole of the *defendants* artillery will now come up from the re-re of its columns, and open upon the enemy; whose artillery is to be employed according as the ground may permit.

At the hoisting of a white flag at the exercising officer's marquee, (which signal all officers commanding parties or main bodies must carefully attend to) the *assailants* retire in the utmost disorder, without rallying:—the *defendants* advancing at a charge in all directions, but without offering to pass out of the field.

At the *Chamade* being beat from the centre of the camp all firing to cease, and the whole of the troops to form a square, so as to comprehend the whole of the ground, for three feude-joyes from right to left.

Bayonets not to be fixed in the Sham Fight."

" Having (by inserting a copy of the orders,) conveyed to our readers a particular description of the mock engagement to take place that day, little is left us to add, except such deviations in the execution as the ardour of the troops occasioned. The skirmishing of the horse, and the advance guards on the road had a pleasing effect; but was considerably exceeded by the rapid movements of the flanking parties of grenadiers and infantry; which with much judgment hung upon the flanks of the assailants column, and afforded a delightful spectacle to the greatest multitude of spectators that perhaps ever attended a Review in this place.

When the attack became general, (the camp assailed on each flank and in front, and the light parties driven in) a very lively image of war presented itself. The various movements of the different bodies in columns and line, as well as of the artillery and horse, determined in the heat of a general action by the occasion, and heightened by the confused appearance of so extended an engagement, afforded a scene on which every eye was intently bent, and every mind was on one side or the other interested.

We cannot avoid noticing a trifling circumstance which happened during a forced movement of a small party of infantry belonging to the assailants. An old soldier who observed it, and felt a momentary return of the fire of youth from the resemblance that this busy scene bore to real actions

in Germany, finding the party had taken its intended station, inattentive to a danger to which it had exposed itself from two strong bodies by which it was surrounded—exclaimed with as much vehemence as a *real* scene of the kind could possibly have excited, and with the utmost agitation of mind—"by h—ns to a man they are cut off."

As the performance of troops in mock engagement is a good touchstone of their discipline, the person who communicated this account is authorised to say, not only from a very minute attention to the fact, but from higher authorities of *martial* talents versant in the nature of real action, that the general conduct of this little army reflected honour on the attention it has paid to the use of arms; strongly evinced in the regularity of every movement, and in no confusion of consequence ensuing at any time, even when the columns, line, or flanking parties were much pressed.

A gentleman in the suite of the earl of Charlemont, to whose exertions the corps of the province of Leinster are highly indebted for ideas of discipline, assured the person who writes this, that he had very seldom seen a finer body of *regular* troops—of men whom a very few weeks close attention to military rule, would prepare to take the field with better effect—that the marchings were such as he could not have considered a volunteer army at present capable of—and that the artillery (two companies of which are but a few weeks formed,) was served in a manner, of which, without being an actual witness of the fact, he could not have formed an idea.

William Todd Jones, the exercising-officer, set an example, by lying on *straw* in the encampment, and never leaving it till the last company had marched off, which it is to be hoped will be imitated by future officers invested with so useful a trust.

CORPS REVIEWED AT BELFAST IN JULY, 1784.

Line of Encampment.

BELFAST BATTALION ON THE RIGHT.

Artillery of Belfast 1st corps (two brass six-pounders.)—Belfast 1st grenadier, infantry, and battalion company.—Donegor.—Holywood.—Larne Independents.—White-House.—Belfast Union.—(9)

ULSTER REGIMENT, TWO BATTALIONS.

Artillery (two brass four-pounders.)—Lisburn True Blues.—Ditto Grenadiers.—Ditto Infantry.—Maghragell.—Dromore Independents.—Drumbo Rangers.—Lambeg.—Dunmurry.—Langford Lodge.—Lisburn Fusileers.—Purdysburn.—Ballynure.—Drumbridge.—Killead.—Light Infantry of Red Battalion.—(16)

PART OF UNION REGIMENT.

Rosevale Loyalists.—Ballinahinch.—Aghalee.—(3)

Corps in Belfast.

DETACHED CORPS.

Belfast Volunteer Company.—Ditto Artillery (two brass six-pounders.)—Carrickfergus.—Donaghclony.—Banbridge.—Holywood, 1st.—Donegor Independents.—Ballymena Fusileers.—Danover Independents.—Ardes Ditto.—(10)

INDEPENDENT COUNTY OF DOWN REGIMENT.

Newtown Artillery (two brass six-pounders.)—Newtown 1st

Company.—Ditto 2d.—Comber Independants.—Ditto Blues.
—Dundonald.—Donaghadee.—Bangor.—Killinshy.—Com-
ber Rangers.—(10)

TROOPS OF HORSE.

Edenduffcarrick.—Belfast.—Newtown.—(3)

Total Number of Corps.....FIFTY-ONE.

As various reports are made of the actual number reviewed, we can assert, from pretty accurate calculation, that the total number (including officers, music, drums, and fifes,) was not short of 2,500; the number of companies and troops amounting to 51.

In 1781, when upwards of 5,000 were reviewed here, the greatest brigade reviewed on the ground was 1,362. The second brigade this year as fully occupied the line as that year, by the declaration of the general; to which, if we add 1,154, of which the first brigade consisted, the total number will be 2,516, which, however, included upwards of 250 recruits of the two brigades which did not fall into the ranks.

Had the review been a billeted one, it is beyond a doubt that 6,000 would have been present, as a greater desire discovered itself among very distant companies to attend, than ever was experienced before.

Mr Blair M'Clenaghan, a native of Derry, and a very considerable merchant in Philadelphia, attended the review, and expressed a kind of reverence for, and delight in this display of Irish arms, that perhaps no man, who had not himself been in an American or an Irish Volunteer army, could feel. This gentleman, though of very considerable property, served as a

private in the American army, and in a true act of munificence, bestowed at one time, for the use of the American camp—provisions to the amount of £1,500.

At a meeting of delegates from the Volunteer Army reviewed at Belfast on the 12th and 13th days of July, 1784,

MAJOR CRAWFORD, of the Independent County of Down Regiment, in the Chair.

Resolved.—That the following address be presented to General the Earl of Charlemont.

To General the Earl of Charlemont.

MY LORD.—With the most sincere veneration for your Lordship's character, and affectionate solicitude for your welfare, the Volunteers assembled at Belfast beg leave again to congratulate your Lordship on your arrival amongst them, and to wish your Lordship a long continuation of every enjoyment that rank, reputation, and integrity, can bestow on a faithful and persevering Volunteer—unpolluted by the corruptions of a court, and uninfluenced by the politics of fluctuating administrations.

We rejoice at the military ardour of a country in which every man is either already enrolled a soldier, or from the general attention to the use of arms, would in a few weeks be qualified to act in the Army of the People. And we pledge ourselves to co-operate with the collective body of our countrymen in every measure directed to remedy the abuse of power, and the well known defects in the Commons' House of Parliament—defects which threaten the annihilation of our boasted form of government, and are productive of the high-

est oppression to the inhabitants of this loyal and independent nation.

Before we bid adieu to our beloved General, permit us, my Lord, to express our satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which have so long involved us in feud and disunion—a disunion which, by limiting the rights of suffrage, and circumscribing the number of Irish citizens, has, in a high degree tended to create and foster that aristocratic tyranny which is the fountain of every Irish grievance; and against which the public now unanimously exclaim.

JOHN CRAWFORD, Chairman.

*To the Delegates of the Volunteer Army Reviewed at Belfast,
on the 12th and 13th of July, 1784.*

GENTLEMEN,

To be possessed of your good opinion has ever been the highest honour, as well as the greatest pleasure of my life;—and the kind expressions contained in your Address are now most peculiarly pleasing to me, as I am by them induced to hope that you will pardon me, if now, for the first time I venture to differ from you in sentiment. From your disapproving the present limitation of the right of suffrage, I am to conclude, that you would wish to communicate the elective privilege with our *Catholic* fellow subjects. This is indeed a matter of nice and delicate discussion, but, as the subject has of late been generally treated, both in conversation and in writing, I have given it every consideration in my power, and am sorry to say that *my decision essentially differs from yours*. The limited nature of what I am now writing, must preclude me from entering into a train of reasoning upon this point.

and I shall therefore content myself with declaring, that, though perfectly free from every illiberal prejudice, though full of good will toward that very respectable body, my judgment, as far as it has hitherto been informed, will not suffer me to agree with you. Neither am I by any means singular among the real friends to Reform, in my ideas upon this subject; if I were, I should perhaps be less ardent in my intreaties to you to desist from a pursuit which would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of our favourite purpose; indulge not I beseech you, any opinion which must and will create disunion,—your strength, your honour, your utility consists in concord, which is best maintained by perfect similarity of sentiment.*

I shall ever most sincerely rejoice at the military ardour of my country, and at the permanency and increase of the Volunteer associations, while they strictly adhere, as I trust they ever will, to the principles on which they were first established, and preserve their original form respecting the members of whom they are composed. The civil army of Ireland has been respectable throughout the world, effectual and safe in its operations, and salutary in its consequences; because it is perhaps the only army upon earth, each of whose private individuals has a property in the land it is embodied to defend—such an army is singular and respectable indeed, and may it

* Shortly after the appearance of these sentiments of Lord Charlemont on this important subject, William Todd Jones addressed a *Letter to the Volunteers Reviewed at Belfast on the 12th of July, 1784*, in which he animadverts on his Lordship's Answer, and strongly recommends the restitution of the Elective Franchise to the Roman Catholics. It is remarkable that Lord Charlemont never entirely abandoned his sentiments on this head, at least until a short time previous to his death.

never lose a jot of its singularity and consequent respectability ! With you I pledge myself to leave no constitutional mode untried to obtain that more equal representation of the people, without which the constitution is most certainly imperfect ; but, while in the sincerity of my heart I make this promise, while I approve and emulate the steadiness of your principles, I must at the same time conjure you to restrain *within the bounds of prudent moderation* that ardour, which, considering the cause from whence it springs, can scarcely be deemed reprehensible, but which, if unrestrained by cautious wisdom, hitherto the most honourable, as well as the most useful attribute of Volunteers, would not only tend to postpone that wished for event, which perseverance, prudence, and time will infallibly bring about, but might plunge this country into the most serious calamities. Let not, my dear and virtuous countrymen, the imprudence of some late measures be, through your fault, productive of consequences worse even than those which are natural to them—be, as you hitherto have been, prudent, moderate, and firm—your fortitude can never be doubted—it is the general and acknowledged attribute of Irishmen—but moderation has ever been your peculiar characteristic—by that your renown has been established through the nations—all that has been gained has been by that means atchieved—all that remains will by that be gained—precipitation alone can dishonour us, and injure the cause we have most at heart !

That the Volunteer associations may ever be, as they hitherto have been, an instrument of good to their country, and that the name of Volunteer may go down to the latest posterity, renowned, not only for the assertion of freedom, but for the

happiness and aggrandisement of Ireland, is the first and most ardent wish and prayer of him who has the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged, faithful,
and devoted humble Servant,

CHARLEMONT.

July 14, 1784.

"The Inhabitants of Belfast are conjured, as they tender the high rank in which they have ever stood for a true spirit of freedom, to attend at the Market-House in great numbers at Noon To-Morrow, to receive the Report of their Committee, containing a Petition to his Majesty. The Inhabitant who absents himself on so important an occasion, can ill excuse his supineness in so general and momentous a Cause."

Requisitions for meetings of the counties of Antrim and Down, to petition our gracious sovereign on the subject of Reform, are now in circulation ; and those counties will, no doubt, by the most crowded assemblies of their freeholders ever known, be instrumental in healing the distractions of the country, by manly petitions for a real representation of the People."

July 17.—BELFAST PETITION TO THE KING, FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT, &c.

"BELFAST MEETING."

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Belfast, convened by public Notice in the Town-House, on the 17th July, 1784,

JOHN C. WHITE, Esq. in the Chair.

The Committee appointed at last Meeting to draw up a Peti-

tion to his Majesty, reported the same ; the prayer of which, after an Enumeration of the weighty Grievances of this Realm is,

That our gracious Sovereign may be pleased "TO DISSOLVE A PARLIAMENT, which by reiterated acts hath completely lost the confidence of his Subjects ; and further, (as a measure founded on such dissolution,) that his Majesty may be pleased to give Efficacy to the determinations of the civil convention of *actual* delegates of the Collective Body, (to sit in Dublin on the 25th October next,) either by issuing Writs agreeably to such plan of reform as shall by them be deemed adequate, or by co-operating with them in other steps for renovating the Constitution—for overturning oppressions that, under the **SEMBLANCE OF LAW**, extinguish the spirit of our free Government, whilst they merely suffer its external Forms to remain."

Resolved, unanimously.—That we approve of, and adopt said Petition ; that the same, with the signature of our Chairman, be enclosed to Mr Flood and Mr Brownlow, with a Request that they may present it to the Lord, Lieutenant for Transmission to his Majesty ; and that a copy of the same, with a Letter signed by our Chairman, be enclosed to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

Resolved.—That the Inhabitants shall be again convened in the Month of September next, in order to elect five persons to represent this Town in the said civil convention.

JOHN C. WHITE, Chairman."

July 17.—" On Saturday last, the meeting of this town, for receiving the report of their committee, regarding the petition of Belfast to his Majesty, was respectable and well attended. After noticing, with applause, the late appeal of our gracious

Sovereign from a partial representative to the sense of the the people of Britain, the petition declares—that the constitution of Ireland supposes short parliaments, and a fair representation of the Commons, essential to the freedom of the state; and that the People, as distinguished from the King and Peers, should possess a third part of the legislative power. It then proceeds to describe, what the constitution, with its present corruptions on its head, is; and it certainly gives no flattering, though too true a picture, of its present state. It touches upon taxes; which, it declares, instead of being free gifts, are, in consequence of the want of representation, imposed against the will of the People, and contrary to a vital principle of the constitution.

After a recital of steps hitherto ineffectually taken by petitions, to an assembly “which can have no just pretence to power but as our REAL representative,” and of the intemperate treatment the petitions received, it declares, that repeated abuses and perversions of representative trusts amount to a virtual abdication in the trustees, and that as “in the native energy of the people rests, under Providence, the authority and power to effectuate redress,” we look to the affection of our gracious Prince, and in the councils of the Civil Convention, to be held in Dublin, in October, for a restoration of our violated rights.

In order to shew that this *extraordinary delegation* is not only in conformity to the fundamental principles of every free government, as well as dictated by *absolute necessity*, but is even warranted by the ancient custom of England—it adverts to the instance of twelve men returned out of every county, to ascertain the *Confessor's* laws—which assembly Judge Hale

declared to be "*as sufficient and effectual a Parliament as ever was held in Britain*"; and history well warrants his assertion, as in consequence of that assembly King Edward's laws were revived, and the perversions of the liberties of England, occasioned by the influx of foreign invaders under William the Conqueror, completely abolished.

The clause which terminates the petition, declares our resolution to attain our purpose by regular constitutional measures, and completely controverts the weak reports so industriously circulated by internal enemies in Ireland and Britain—that the private wishes of this country lead to a separation from England under the mask of a Reform of parliament.—It is also couched in that style of moderation, blended with firmness, which is generally the language of *serious purpose*. It declares in a decided tone the principles of taxation upon which, and which only, the subsidies of the people can justly be claimed, and expresses sentiments of the purest loyalty to, and confidence in our gracious King, that will be grateful to the honest moderate men of both kingdoms. The following is a verbatim transcript of the clause here alluded to:—

"Actuated by ardent wishes to promote the *combined interests, stability, and power* of THE BRITISH EMPIRE; determined to pursue such measures, and such only, as the spirit of constitution warrants; and sensible that in the event of our peaceful endeavours to procure redress, 'TAXATION' and REPRESENTATION must stand and fall together,—we should be wanting to ourselves and our posterity if we neglected to implore your Majesty's paternal care to avert the common danger, by interposing the powers vested in the crown, in such manner as best to restore confidence in the legislature, and rivet your Majesty still closer to the hearts of your

people;—an act that will hand down your Majesty's name through latest ages, adorned with the most transcendent of earthly titles—A PATRIOT KING, THE FATHER AND GUARDIAN OF A FREE PEOPLE!”

August 13.—“The petition of the town of Belfast to the throne, was forwarded by that steady and virtuous statesman, Mr Brownlow, for transmission through his Grace of Rutland. A few days ago, Secretary Orde thought proper to return it with strong marks of his Grace's disapprobation. Fortunately this was only what was expected, and was provided against by, *at the same time*, sending a duplicate for presentation by Mr Pitt, through which channel it cannot fail to answer every purpose intended by the other mode of conveyance.

The objections made (how *polite, wise, and* fraught with *constitutional knowledge*, no *freeman* will for a moment hesitate to determine,) are—“*That it does not appear to come from any LEGAL body, or any assembly of men convened by LAWFUL AUTHORITY, and signed only by one person, and that it contains positions and assertions highly unjustifiable.*

It has ever, till the present happy æra, been deemed one of the noblest of British privileges, that the meanest subject of the realm (how much more so Aggregate Bodies?) has a right to have his grievance laid at the foot of the throne. But what avails original principles? our V—r—y holds new ideas on the subject, and very different from those of every great and good politician that ever graced a free land.

Strange that such sentiments should be held by a person who was within these few years enrolled a member of “The Society for Constitutional Knowledge,” instituted for the express purpose of attaining that reform in England, which in Ireland he so much reprobates.”

ANSWER OF MR PITT TO THE BELFAST PETITION.

" To Messrs Henry & Robert Joy & Co.

GENTLEMEN.—Having this day received a letter from the Right Hon. W. Pitt (of which the following is a copy,) acknowledging the receipt of the Belfast Petition, with his sentiments on the subject: I request you will publish it in your Friday's Paper—

And am, Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL WHITE.

Belfast, 6th September, 1784.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE, SEPTEMBER 6, 1784.

SIR.—I received some time since a letter from you as chairman of a meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast, accompanying a petition, which they were desirous that I should present to his Majesty.

I am extremely sorry that the variety of business in which I was at that time engaged has prevented me returning you a more immediate answer.—As my presenting the petition might be supposed to imply that I approved of its contents, I am under the necessity of declining it, and of explaining my reasons for doing so. The prayer of the petition seems to proceed upon the supposition of the present constitution being actually dissolved, and calls upon the king to exercise a discretionary power of new-modelling the frame of parliament, which I think totally inconsistent with the security of public liberty.

I have undoubtedly been, and still continue a zealous friend to a Reform of Parliament; but I must beg leave to say that

I have been so on grounds very different from those adopted. What is there proposed I consider as tending to produce still greater evils, than any which the friends of reform are desirous to remedy or to prevent. I have great concern in differing so widely on this subject from a body of men who profess to be guided by motives of loyalty, and of reverence for the constitution. But, guided by the same motives, and sincerely anxious for the prosperity and freedom of every part of the British empire, I have thought it my duty to state to you my sentiments fairly and explicitly, and I must beg the favour of you Sir, to communicate them to the gentlemen by whose desire you wrote.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

John Campbell White, Esq. Belfast."

Notwithstanding the failure of the former attempts in favour of Reform, an assembly of Delegates was once more summoned to meet for this great purpose in Dublin on the 25th of October, in a NATIONAL CONGRESS. This appeal to the voice of the people, in opposition to the determination of the legislature, was received with much opposition from various quarters, and the Grand Jury of the County of Antrim at Summer Assizes, 1784, declared their determination to give it no countenance, maintaining that "the *dernier appeal* to the nation at large, was never to be made but in cases of the utmost extremity." This resolution was signed by John O'Neill, Foreman; James Leslie, C. R. Dobbs, J. H. O'Hara, S. J. O'Neill, Stewart Banks, A. M'Manus, &c. and supported

by a declaration of several of the most respectable freeholders of the county. About the same period, the high sheriff (John Cromie) peremptorily refused to summon the freeholders for the purpose of electing delegates, in consequence of which the Freeholders assembled (at the call of 872 of their own body) at Antrim, and after electing Colonel Sharman their chairman passed the following resolutions :

“ COUNTY OF ANTRIM MEETING.

RESOLUTIONS.

At a very numerous meeting of the freeholders of the county of Antrim, assembled on Monday, the 20th of September, 1784, in Antrim, by the public requisition of 872 freeholders (the sheriff having refused to convene the same,)

— WILLIAM SHARMAN, Esq. unanimously called to the Chair.

A Committee of fifteen being appointed, they retired, and when they returned to make their report, the house being found much too small to contain the freeholders present, the meeting was adjourned from the Sessions-House of the county to the old Dissenting Meeting-House.—The following Resolutions were then agreed to :

WHEREAS.—To petition the throne is the birthright of all his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, expressly confirmed at the glorious revolution of 1688:—*Resolved*, therefore (John Gubbin only, dissentient,) that the attempt of any man, or body of men, however dignified by rank or office, to obstruct their assembling in the common way, or impede the regular transmission of their petitions through the ordinary medium : is to interrupt the communication between the sovereign and his people, and is ILLEGAL, and a GRIEVANCE.

Resolved. (same dissentient,)—That as our intentions are pure, and our conduct constitutional, we are not to be intimidated by threats, from the support of our just rights.

Resolved (same dissentient,)—That from the number of rich commoners daily advancing to the peerage,—the enormous influence of the Lords over the representative body, and the opportunities of increasing it, by enriching their dependants and impoverishing the subject ;—the wealth as well as the Legislation of the kingdom must in a short time centre in the upper house, the people become a cypher, and the government, instead of being a limited monarchy, become despotic.

Resolved (same dissentient)—That the representatives of the commons, wilfully absenting themselves from their parliamentary duty, or attending in their places and acting against the known sense of the great body of commons,—is an abdication of representation.

Resolved (same dissentient)—That the right of resuming delegated trust, when flagrantly and repeatedly abused, is as much a right inherent in the collective body, as that by virtue of which the trust was originally created ; and that they can rightfully and in its full extent transfer their power to an adequate representative, whenever such abuses exist as deprive the people of their proportionable share in their own government ; though we deem such a transfer only expedient for Ireland, when public conjunctures shall have weakened the arm of oppression, and every ordinary channel of redress hath been resorted to in vain.

A petition to his Majesty, containing a statement of the corruptions of the Irish constitution, and praying his Majesty, “ to avert the common danger, either by recommending to parliament the immediate adoption of measures for radically

improving the representation of your Commons, or by such other interposition of the powers vested in the Crown, as may best restore confidence in the legislature, and revive the essential principles of free government in your empire," being duly considered :

Resolved (some dissentient.)—That said petition conveys the sentiments and wishes of this meeting; and that after a General Signature of the names of the freeholders of this county shall be had, an engrossed copy, with the original names annexed, be presented by the Knights of the Shire, or either of them, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for transmission; our Chairman forwarding a copy to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

Resolved unanimously,—That the following five gentlemen be, and they hereby are nominated to represent this county in the Civil Convention to be held the 25th October next.—Said Delegates are hereby authorised to concur with the sense of the majority in the intended Convention, regarding Petitions to the Throne, and touching all other wise and effectual measures for obtaining a reformed representation. And, in order that said Civil Convention may act with the authority of the nation, our Delegates are hereby instructed to move for an adjournment of the Assembly to a future day, sufficiently distant for a general return from the counties at large, provided a majority of them shall not have made their returns of Delegates on or before the commencement of its sitting.

1. Marriot Dalway, Esq.

4. Joseph Pollock, Esq.

2. Thos. Morris Jones, Esq.

5. Hugh Campbell, Esq.

3. Wad. Cunningham, Esq.

Resolved, (John Cubbin, only dissentient.)—That we conceive any other place to be more eligible than the Capital for

the sitting of Convention, and with much deference beg leave to recommend it to the Citizens of Dublin, to alter the place of Meeting from Dublin to Athlone; or to any other place central to the kingdom, as expediency shall dictate.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this Assembly be given to M. Dalway and W. Cunningham, Esqrs. for their respectful—exemplary,—and Constitutional conduct as Grand Jurors on a late occasion.

Signed by Order,

WILLIAM SHARMAN, Chairman.

Mr Sharman having left the Chair;

Resolved, unanimously.—That our thanks be returned to our esteemed Chairman William Sharman, Esq., a gentleman confessedly possessed of those amiable, upright, and constitutional dispositions, which in rendering him the object of universal regard among his Fellow-citizens—have excited the impotent, ill-founded resentment of an undignified and impolitic Irish-Administration."

Oct. 13.—TOWN MEETING FOR THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

We request a full meeting of the town at the Market-house, on Wednesday the 13th instant precisely at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of electing Delegates to represent you in National Congress, to be held in Dublin on the 25th October instant in pursuance of a resolution entered into at the last meeting.

Arch. Campbell
Hugh Wilson

James Beggs
Archibald Scott

John C. White
John Craig

Thomas Lyle	Robert Simms	Hugh Crawford
Hugh Henderson	Thomas Milliken	Alexander Arthur
John Elliott	Robert Bradshaw	James Ferguson
William Simms	John Campbell	John Caldwell
James Hyndman	Richard Armstrong	Hugh M'Ilwain
John Brown	James Forsythe	Robert Hodgson
David Tomb	John Moore	George Suffern
Henry Haslett	Joseph Drennan	John Luke
John Carson	Simon M'Creary	John Boyd
William Brown	William M'Ilwrath	John Davison
Hercules M'Comb	Hugh Warrin	James M'Connell
John M'Mullin	Andrew Hyndman	Rowley Osborne, sen.
Samuel Neilson	Thomas M'Cabe	R. Osborne, jun.
Alexander Orr	Hugh Hyndman	James Carson
William Calwell	Francis Joy	Robert Scott
Sinclair Kilburn	John Neilson	Thomas Nicholson
James Black	J. Tisdall	Andrew Hannah
Stewart Beatty	Thomas Brown	Henry Cavart
Thomas Gihon	Robert Getty	James Clements
Robert Knox	Alexander Sutherland	John M'Clean
Robert Smith	William Wilson	Robert Linn
James Cleland	William Magee	David M'Tear
William Boyle	Samuel Ferguson	John Martin
Francis Taggart	John Murdoch	William Anderson
Robert Thomson	Samuel Gibsbn	Robert Stevenson
Jacob Forsyth	John Fulton	James Lamb
Thomas Sinclair	Archibald M'Clure	James Park
Joseph M'Carramon		

TOWN-HOUSE, BELFAST, Oct. 13, 1784.

At a numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants, called by public notice, signed by 88 Inhabitants.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Esq. being unanimously called to the chair, and the Requisition calling the Meeting for the purpose of electing Delegates to represent this Town in the National Congress, to be held in Dublin, the 25th inst. being read :

Resolved, unanimously.—That we appoint the Lord Bishop of Derry, Counsellor Alex. Stewart, Rev. S. Kilburn, Robert Thomson and H. Joy, jun. our Delegates at the approaching General Congress, or National Committee, for promoting a more equal Representation of the Commons of Ireland:—and we authorise them to act for us in that capacity till the 1st of May, 1785; on which day, if an adequate Representation shall not have been adopted by the Legislature; we will again assemble to appoint Delegates for the same important purpose.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the Right of the people to assemble for the purpose of deliberating on public measures, and more particularly upon such measures as tend to promote their more equal Representation in Parliament; is founded on the original principles of our Government, and sanctified by the strongest maxims of constitutional Law.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we, therefore, declare a letter addressed to the late Sheriffs of the City of Dublin, to be an insult on the collective Body of the people; unconstitutional—and directly subversive of the principles of the Revolution.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we lament that the late and present Sheriffs of the Metropolis, unmindful of the Dignity of their Office; unmindful of the Examples often exhibited by the most respected Magistrates of London; and unmindful of the conduct of the most independent Sheriffs of the kingdom of Ireland; suffered themselves to be intimidated by the insolence of Office, from discharging their Duty to their country at large, and more particularly to their own Bailiwick.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Chairman.

Mr Sinclaire having left the Chair, and Mr J. C. White taken it,

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this Assembly be returned to our worthy Chairman for his spirited and upright conduct."

This was the last effort in favour of Parliamentary Reform for several years. It is unnecessary to say that it proved unsuccessful.—See *The Hist. of Ireland*, printed at Belfast, 1815, (*Sold by the Publisher of these Collections, price 5s 10d.*) p. 210.

1785.—This year, the merchants of Belfast employed 35 vessels—burthen 8,180 tons, on the foreign; and 20 vessels—burthen 10,040 tons, on the home trade.

August 10.—Notwithstanding the boasted independence of the Irish legislature, an attempt was made at this period by the British parliament to subject Ireland once more to its legislative controul, by the introduction of a new commercial system, calculated to place an eternal restriction on the trade of Ireland. On this occasion a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast was convened, and THOMAS GREG, Esq. being called to the Chair, an Address *To the People of Ireland* was unanimously agreed to, containing a spirited protest against the system, as "fraught with insult to our legislature—fraught with ruin to the emerging commerce and struggling manufactures of our country, and teeming with the seeds of discord between the remaining branches of a dismembered empire." A civil convention of the province of Ulster was recommended to assemble without delay, and the following inhabitants were appointed to represent the town, should the measure be put in execution:—Dr Drennan, Thomas Sinclaire, John Brown, (*merchant*), Counsellor Stewart, and Robert Thomson. A petition to the legislature was at the same time agreed to, and

instructions were transmitted to the Hon. H. Skeffington and Joseph Hewitt, representatives of the borough, "requesting and conjuring them, as they tendered the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, and as they wished to *preserve inviolate* the connexion between her and Great Britain, to oppose all resolutions or bills tending to infringe our constitutional or commercial rights."

August 20.—The Glass-house at the east end of the Long-bridge, for the purpose of making window-glass and glass bottles, was erected. Its diameter in the clear is above 60 feet, and height about 120; being among the largest in Great Britain or Ireland.

1786.—About the commencement of this year, the Belfast Academy in Donegall-street was opened, Dr Crombie principal. It was conducted by subscription, and the presbytery of Killileagh, highly to their honour, resolved to pay towards the support of said academy, the sum of 100 guineas, "in hopes that great benefits will arise to this country from such an institution, and that its doors and privileges will be open to students of all countries, churches, and denominations."

(Signed)

ALEX. M'COMB, Moderator.

July 14.—The 7th annual review was held at Belfast. The Earl of Charlemont as reviewing-general, and the number of corps were 42, amounting altogether to near 2,000 men.

Nov. 17.—At the request of the sheriff of the county Antrim a party of the Belfast Volunteers, with two six-pounders (one of which belonged to the 1st company, the other to the Belfast Blues,) marched to Ballymena, to assist in enforcing an execution on a house in that neighbourhood. On their arrival, the two pieces were drawn up in front of the house (which had been previously prepared for defence,) and pointed in order to begin the attack, under the orders of the sheriff, when the

defenders fled precipitately, and effected an escape; after which possession was taken by the sheriff.

A serious dispute arose this year between the Earl of Donegal and Lord Chief Baron Yelverton:—The latter had purchased from Mr Pottinger, that piece of ground projecting from the east end of the Long-Bridge towards the arches, and seeing the advantage which must arise from building a town opposite to Belfast, formed an embankment of 300 yards in length, and marked out the places so inclosed into streets, which he let to tenants on leases *in perpetuity*, in opposition to the custom of Lord Donegal, who set up his leases to sale, and let the premises to the highest bidder, without any regard to the interests of the old tenants. A new town was fast rising from this foundation, when a number of men, under the direction of the seneschal of Belfast and the overseer of the Belfast Canal, came down from the inland country, and so far demolished the works, as to let in the water. Not intimidated by such lawless violence, the chief baron recommenced his operations, with friends prepared to oppose and repel any further attempt to injure him (*Gent. Magazine, Dec. 1786.*) The contested point was, however, in the following year, brought to a termination, in consequence of his Lordship's having purchased the chief baron's estate.

1787.—Lord Donegal presented the corporation with a gold chain, and medal appendant (on one side of which are the arms of the Lord of the Castle, and on the reverse those of the corporation;) to be worn by the sovereigns of Belfast as insignia of their office.

June.—“In the towns and neighbourhoods of Belfast, Lissburn, and Hillsborough, there are at present some thousand looms employed in the various branches of the cotton manufac-

ture, and the number is daily increasing.—What a contrast does this afford to the year 1777, when in the whole north of Ireland, nay, perhaps in all Ireland, there was not a single cotton loom.”

June 1.—A bank was first established in Belfast. The proprietors were John Ewing, John Holmes, John Brown, and John Hamilton.

July 30.—The Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in town, and was presented with the freedom of the borough in an elegant gold box. During his stay he was invited by the inhabitants to a splendid entertainment at the Donegal-Arms, at which were present Lords Hillsborough, *Rawdon*, and *Jocelyn*; the *Bishop of Down*, *Mr O'Neil*, Major *Rawdon*, Colonel *Ross*, *Mr Hardy*, Major *Doyle*, the field officers of the 46th regiment, &c. The usual liberty toasts were drank on the occasion:—Lord Russel and the Exclusioners.—The Glorious Memory.—The Protestant Interest all the world over, &c.—“We hear that when it was signified to the sovereign that he or any other gentleman of the corporation might be knighted, the favour was politely declined.”

Nov.—“The application of this Town to Government, for the establishment of a mail Coach between Dublin and Belfast, has been unsuccessful; as an answer was sometime ago received, that in the present state of the roads, it would be impracticable.”

“COMMEMORATION OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, 1688.

Wednesday last, the 13th of February instant was observed in this place, as the anniversary of the Revolution of 1688. The inhabitants of Belfast, assembled in great numbers in

their respective Societies, vied with each other in testifying their approbation of that great event, which transferred the regal power from James the Second to *William the Third*.—The several Volunteer Corps and the Military now quartered here, paraded, and a Royal Salute was given by the Volunteer and army Artillery in conjunction. Between each of three intervals in the discharges of cannon, *a feu de joye* was fired by the Volunteers and Military, who were drawn up in one line, flanked by their respective Artillery Corps, and acting in concert as one body. After a day spent in decent festivity and in expressions of veneration for the principles of liberty, the evening closed with illuminations and bonfires.

The largest bonfire was surrounded by the Rev. W. Bristow, Sovereign, and the principal inhabitants; when a number of toasts were given by the Chief Magistrate suitable to the memorable occasion; among the rest we cannot avoid mentioning one in favour of *the Abolition of Slavery*; as the subject to which it refers has been taken up by several humane associations in Great Britain, and must interest the feelings of every good man.

In the number of Societies assembled on this occasion, we are only in possession of the toasts given by that old and respectable meeting, known as the *Card Club* of Belfast; which we insert, the better to shew the spirit that animated that meeting and the people in general. From the Chair, which was filled by a Whig of the first character, the following toasts were given:—

The glorious Memory of King William.—The Revolution 1688.—The King, Queen, and Royal Family; and prosperity to Great Britain and Ireland.—The Lord Lieutenant, and the independent Land we live in.—Lord Donegal, and the Town and Trade of Belfast.—The 4th of November 1690.—The

5th of November, 1688.—The 14th of June, 1690.—The 1st of July, 1690.—The 12th of July, 1691.—The 1st of August, 1714.—The 16th of April, 1746.—Lord Charlemont and the Volunteers of Ireland.—The Memory of John Hamden.—The Memory of Lord Russel and the Exclusioners.—The Whig Interest all the World over.—The Protestant Interest.—A good Provision for the Clergy, and relief to the Peasantry of Ireland.—Short Parliaments—and a Fair and Equal Representation of the People.—Trial by Jury, and an effectual Reform of that unconstitutional code, **THE REVENUE LAWS**.—A speedy Repeal of all Unconstitutional Acts, and a final Stop to all Unconstitutional Proceedings.—More Merit, and fewer Pensions.—The Freedom of the Press.—The Friends of Liberty; Civil and Religious.—Liberty to those who dare contend for it, and to those who dare not.—May every kind of Slavery be abolished.—May the principles of the Revolution ever prevail, and the Blessings of it be improved and perpetuated.—The Memorable 15th of February, 1782, &c. &c.”

March 21, 1789.—An address of congratulation to the King on his recovery, was unanimously agreed to by the inhabitants, and sent to the Lord Lieutenant for transmission.

April 13.—A Mail Coach commenced running between Dublin and Belfast, three days in each week. Fare, *inside* £1 16s 3d. *Outside*, half price.

Aug. 26.—The tenth Annual Review was held on the Plains. By appointment of General the Earl of Charlemont, Lieutenant Colonel Banks acted as Reviewing General.

1790.—Political affairs in Ireland began this year to assume a new complexion, from a surprising revolution in the most powerful kingdom on the European continent. The French people had long groaned under an absolute monarchy, combined with a subservient feudal aristocracy, and a fanatical

priesthood. But a general destruction of the ancient despotism had now taken place, (1789-90) and a constitution more conformable to the genuine liberties of man had been established. Encouraged by the success of these glorious efforts of the French nation, the friends of Liberty in this country once more turned their undivided attention to the salutary measure of Reform, and renewed those efforts from which they had been so ingloriously compelled to desist in the year 1785. The first appearance of this revival of public spirit in Belfast shone forth on the 6th of March, 1790, when it was unanimously resolved at a Meeting of the Belfast First Volunteer Company, that this company do turn out in full uniform on the 17th inst. in order to celebrate our 13th anniversary, and elect officers for the ensuing year." It was also *Resolved, unanimously*, that "we cannot omit giving our warmest thanks to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, and every other member of that numerous and respectable body—the Minority of the House of Commons, for their spirited exertions in endeavouring to obtain a Place Bill, a Pension Bill, a Responsibility Bill, a Bill to exclude Revenue Officers from voting at Elections—and especially for their endeavours to bring to light and consequent punishment, the advisers of that system of corrupt influence, said and believed now to be in actual baneful operation, for the purpose of poisoning the representative and elective bodies, through the sale of Peerages, purchase of venal boroughs with the public money, the creation of new, and revival of obsolete places for Members of Parliament—and through the additions made to the pension list.

Resolved, unanimously,—That at this propitious period when the strong hand of liberty is successfully stretched forth in several neighbouring nations of Europe, to break every oppressive yoke, we must intreat and conjure the Minority to continue their utmost exertions to the full accomplishment of

the said indispensable laws and regulations, as the voice of a free people, however stilled at present in Parliament from the corruption and inadequacy of their representation, *must and will ultimately prevail.*

(Signed by order,)

DAVID DINSMORE, Chairman."

Two days subsequent to this meeting (March 8,) a numerous meeting of the principal inhabitants was held at the town-house, when it was unanimously resolved,

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Esq. in the Chair ;

"To declare their opinion on the present *situation of public affairs.*" The following Declaration was then unanimously adopted :—

1st. We, the inhabitants of the town of Belfast, assembled by public notice in the Town-house, think it our indispensable duty at this time to declare, that notwithstanding the *independence* of our legislature is now acknowledged, this kingdom still labours under great grievances, which, unless redressed, must for ever render Ireland *subject*, not indeed to a foreign parliament, but, what is worse, to the arbitrary edicts of a British minister clothed with the form and semblance of Irish Law.

2d. That, granting places or pensions to members of the House of Commons, revocable at pleasure, and thereby securing a majority on every question—is a grievance.

3d. That the accumulation of taxes, and squandering their produce in bribing members of parliament to grant more for the same corrupt purposes—is a grievance.

4th. That the sale of peerages, and expending the produce in purchasing seats in the House of Commons—is a new and alarming grievance.

5th. That the want of responsibility in the ministers of the Crown—is a grievance.

6th. That encroachments upon the Trial by Jury, and holding to excessive bail, whether effected by revenue or other laws, by attachments, fiats, or arbitrary proceedings of any court of law, are contrary to Magna Charta—and grievances.

7th. That revenue officers being permitted to vote at elections as members of parliament—is a grievance.

8th. That the interference of the servants of the crown, or of peers, directly or indirectly, in the elections of the Commons, is a violation of the constitution, illegal—and a grievance.

9th. That those are grievances under which a brave and enlightened nation cannot always tamely suffer, but which we hope to see constitutionally redressed by the virtue of the people.

It was also resolved unanimously.—That the sincere and hearty thanks of this meeting be most respectfully and most gratefully offered to that illustrious and increasing band of Right Hon. and Hon. patriots, who, disdaining the smiles and the favour of ministers, and studious only for their country's good, have nobly struggled to remove those grievances; to perfect the constitution, and to promote the independency, the liberties, the honour, and prosperity of Ireland; to drag to light the corrupt conduct of administration; to check the unconstitutional exertions of the courts of law, and to prevent the establishment of an odious and expensive police.

We implore them to persevere, assured that the voice of the nation (however stifled by placemen, pensioners, and representatives of venal boroughs,) is with them, and that they must ultimately prevail.

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Chairman."

The following Address was then voted to the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN, Dublin.

Belfast, 8th March, 1790.

SIR.—We admire your abilities ; we venerate your character. We are warmly grateful for your strenuous exertions in behalf of this injured and insulted country. Our wish is, that success may attend your efforts in the cause of Ireland, equal to the honour they confer on you—greater we cannot wish. Our prayer is, that you may soon see that wish realised, and that you may long live enjoying the heartfelt satisfaction resulting from both.—We have the honour to be,

With the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And obliged humble Servants,

[By order, and in the name of the inhabitants of Belfast, at a full meeting convened by public notice]

THOMAS SINCLAIRE, Chairman.

To the Respectable and Worthy Inhabitants of Belfast, convened in full Meeting, by Public Notice.

MARCH 12, 1790.

GENTLEMEN.—I received your letter, accompanying your seasonable and spirited Resolutions. Your country is indebted to you : by the assistance of such men, and by such judicious exertions, the People may at last obtain a redress of grievances. As an individual, I thank you ; as a free subject, I am still more obliged to you. You encourage men to persist in the discharge of their duty. To persevere in seeking redress of grievances, and to co-operate with my fellow subjects in that great pursuit, is my wish, my duty, and my determination.—Gentlemen,

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect and regard,

Your most humble obedient Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

INSTITUTION OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB.

About this period, Lord Charlemont, from a just and probably well-founded dread of the increase of democratic principles in the town of Belfast, formed a scheme for the institution of a Whig (or constitutional) Club, similar to a celebrated society which had, for some time past, been formed in Dublin, under that denomination. "I think, (says he, in a letter to Dr Haliday,) that an institution of this kind, would by holding out a congregation to the true believers at Belfast be a means of fixing, and even recalling, many who might otherwise wander from the faith."

His Lordship's ideas were warmly adopted by Dr Haliday, as appears from the following extract of his letter to that patriotic Physician, Feb. 20, 1790.

"Though I have but a moment, I cannot omit assuring you of the heartfelt joy which your letter has afforded me.—My love for my country—my ardour in the good cause which now occupies me, and though last, not least, my affection for BELFAST, are all gratified by the account you send me.—Heaven bless you my dear friend, go on and prosper, continue your patriotic efforts, and Belfast will again be what she was, what she ought to be." While Lord Charlemont was thus constitutionally and wisely employed, some of the Castle adherents insisted, in all companies, that he was diffusing anarchy, and a spirit of resistance to all governments: and one person said, that Haliday should be hanged; the usual ebullitions of ignorant servitude and precipitate arrogance.*

RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATION OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB.

"The undersigned have determined to form themselves into a Society, to be called the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB; and

* See *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, Vol. II. p. 122.

they feel it particularly incumbent on them to enter into such an Association at this time, when Tory and slavish principles inimical to the constitution, the dignity and prosperity of Ireland, have been pertinaciously avowed by the servants of the Crown; when the force and the arts of corruption have been employed in a manner shameless beyond example, and with scandalous efficacy; and when the growing power of the Crown and of the Aristocracy, and their unconstitutional interference with the independency of the Third Estate, and with the Freedom of Election, which is the basis of all our Franchises, must excite apprehensions in every breast warmed with the love of its country, rouse it to vigilance, and stimulate it to energy. *Resolved*, therefore—

That we will give every constitutional support in our power to those worthy Patriots who do or shall exert themselves for the security of the Constitution, and its more perfect restoration, it being still, in our opinion, most degradingly behind that of Great Britain, in consequence of the want of RESPONSIBILITY IN OUR GOVERNORS, of a still more unequal and inadequate REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE, through the larger proportion of close and venal boroughs, and the greater and more dangerous power of a lordly domination; of the rejection of certain, not only *salutary*, but most NECESSARY BILLS, in the course of last Session—and the want of others, perhaps equally essential to the freedom of Parliament and to the purity of election; which last, as being more directly within the sphere of our activity, we shall, as far as in us lies, endeavour to restore and preserve:

Resolved.—That as we have subscribed the following declaration, no person shall, in future, become a Member of this Club, till he likewise hath signed it.

DECLARATION.—That government is an original compact between the governors and the governed, instituted for the good of the whole community.

That in a limited Monarchy, or more properly speaking (respect being had to the Constitution of these realms) a Regal Commonwealth, the MAJESTY is in the PEOPLE ; and though the person on the throne is superior to any individual, he is but the servant of the nation.

That as our Constitution is formed of three legislative branches, the balance between each must be preserved to prevent the destruction of the whole.

That there should be an adequate Representation of the People in Parliament, and that Boroughs (as the great Lord Chatham declared) are the rotten parts of the Constitution, and should be amputated. That Electors ought to be free, the elected independent of all but their constituents.

That a parliamentary influence, by places and pensions, is inconsistent with the virtue and safety of the public ; and that a minister who endeavours to govern by corruption, is guilty of the vilest attempt to subvert the Constitution.

That Trial by Jury is the indefeasible right of the subjects of these Realms.

That our prosperity depends on Agriculture, Manufactures, and trade ; which it is our interest to encourage, our duty to protect.

That the freedom of the Press is the bulwark of civil and religious liberty.

That no person ought to suffer civil hardships for his religious persuasion, unless the tenets of his religion lead him to endeavour at the subversion of the state.

Holding these as the Constitutional Principles of the Empire, and declarative of the general rights of Men. We, as Irishmen, do further declare—

That the subjects of this Realm are, of Right, free from, and independent on the authority of any Parliament or Legislature whatsoever, save only the Parliament of Ireland, that

is to say, the King of Ireland, and the Lords and Commons of this Realm.

That trial by juries being our inherent right, and most blessed inheritance, all trenching and trespassing upon it, whether by unconstitutional Codes of Revenue, Game, or other Laws; or by a stretching of the power of Attachments beyond its proper limits, (the enforcing the authority of the Courts of Law, and punishing contempts of them,) is a great and alarming grievance.

That with grief of heart, we consider the constitution of Ireland as disgraced by manifold imperfections, and labouring under pressure, from which that of Great Britain is comparatively free; such as, the unlimited power assumed and exercised by the Crown in granting pensions—Pensioners sitting in the House of Commons, and many Placemen, who are wisely and providently excluded from the like important trust in our Sister Kingdom—Revenue Officers voting at elections—and the want of responsibility in our Governors—a more inadequate representation of the people, with a more virulent infection of the constitution from venal boroughs.

That, therefore, we will endeavour by every legal effort in our power, to have these diseases in our Constitution removed, and the dangers with which they threaten it, averted; and, as one most necessary step to these salutary and important ends, That we will exert ourselves to the uttermost, in support of the FREEDOM OF ELECTION; considering the right of voting as a sacred deposit for the good of the community, in the conscience of every elector; not to be violated by the threats or promises of Landlords; and particularly of Peers, which is a direct insult on the principles of the constitution, and a daring violation of it.—And that to assist as far as in us lies, individually and collectively, in the redress of these grievances, by calling forth at proper seasons the opinion of the people,

and by co-operating with other bodies, both in and out of parliament; as well as to cherish among our fellow-subjects a love of the free principles of our constitution, and a detestation of every thing tending to infringe on them—we have formed this Society :—solemnly pledging our honour to each other and to the community at large, to be governed by the preceding Declaration and Resolutions.”

March 16.—The first General Meeting of the Northern Whig Club was held—at which, SIMON ISAAC, Esq. presided for that meeting—and Dr Haliday was appointed Secretary.

All the standing TOASTS of the Whig Club of Ireland were drank, viz.—

The King.—The Prince of Wales.—Glorious and Immortal Memory of King William III.—The Constitution, according to the principles asserted at the Revolution.—The Rights of the People.—The Friends of Freedom.—The Cause for which Hampden bled in the Field, and Sydney on the Scaffold.—May it be the Character of the Whig Club never to slacken their Efforts in Adversity, nor forget their Principles in prosperity.—The House of Brunswick, and may they never forget the principles which placed their Family on the Throne of these Realms.—May the example of one Revolution prevent the necessity of another.—Our Brethren of the Whig Club of England.—The Spirit of this Club to the Constituents of Ireland.—May the *Abdication* of 89 in Ireland be as productive of good consequence to the People of Ireland as the Revolution of 88 to England.—May Great Britain in all her Constitutional difficulties, find from Ireland the same spirited and independent support which she experienced on the question of the Regency.

Also the following additional ones.

The Whig Club of Ireland.—The Northern Whig Club, and all the Members necessarily absent.—Free and Indepen-

dent Ireland, and Perfection to her Constitution.—The Illustrious Minority of the Houses of Parliament.—Lord Charlemont and the Volunteers of Ireland.—A speedy and happy establishment of *Gallic Liberty*.—Freedom to the Brabanters and reformation to their Religion, &c.

April 16.—At a MEETING OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, held at Belfast on the 16th April, 1790,

GAWIN HAMILTON, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Resolutions and Address were agreed to :

Resolved, unanimously.—That when an unmasked and shameless system of ministerial corruption, manifests an intention to sap the spirit, virtue, and independence of Parliament, it is time for the people to look to themselves.

Resolved, unanimously.—That if the people have a due regard to their essential rights and interests; if they reflect that the Arch of the Constitution was cemented with the blood of their ancestors; or consider themselves trustees for millions unborn; they will steadily oppose so ruinous and execrable a system. If they do not; instead of glorying in that independence which they so lately with efficacy vindicated—they must soon sink into the most ignominious slavery.

Resolved, unanimously.—That our respectful Address to the Electors of Ireland, together with these resolutions, the Toasts of the day, and a list of the members of this Club, be published.

TO THE ELECTORS OF IRELAND.

The third estate of parliament no longer exists; the power of regenerating it reverts to you: and never was a wise, a faithful, a spirited use of that power more loudly called for. The corrupt support given in the late session by placed and pensioned majorities (without pretension to argument, decency, or ability;) to an administration equally destitute of them all, in measures avowedly hostile to the rights, liberties, and prosperity of this country—proclaims your danger, points out your defence, and challenges your best exertions.

In the name of your country, then—we call upon you to support the rights of Ireland, to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world, that you deserve to be free.

Guard your share in the legislature, as the great distinction between our constitution and a tyranny. Preserve it equally from the inroads of the crown, and of the aristocracy.

Where a representative has proved faithful, renew the trust; where he has bartered his duty for emoluments, either for himself or his retainers, reject him with disdain; and amongst new candidates, support those; and those only, whose characters place them above suspicion, and give a just ground for confidence.

Regard not the threats of landlords and their agents, when they require you to fail in your duty to your country, to yourselves, and to your posterity.

The first privilege of a man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right.

Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part. The man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not more in it, stands accountable for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth.

As an upright House of Commons is *all* that is wanting; do your duty to your country by endeavouring to create one; and let no consideration tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie—the greater duty to the lesser.

We intreat you in the name of your insulted nation—we implore you by every social and honourable tie—we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as *Irishmen*, to exclude from the representative body that herd of slaves who have dared to barter your dearest rights and most essential interests for their private gain.

The illustrious Minority of the last session have acquitted themselves in a manner seldom equalled. It remains for you to do your duty to yourselves.

If you are not satisfied with a House of Commons in which the voice of the nation is with difficulty to be heard—with a majority of that House returned by rotten boroughs, and filled through ministerial profligacy with 104 pensioned hirelings—if you do not wish to countenance corruption—if you desire to guard the treasure of the public from the rapacity of English viceroys—if you do not wish the fountain of nobility contaminated by the sale of the honours of one House for the purpose of bribing the other—and to see a police ruffian stand centinel at every man's door in the land;—you will propose the following questions by deputations of electors, and on the very hustings, to every gentleman that offers himself for the trust of representing you in parliament; and you will hesitate to reject the claim of any man, however great his rank or extensive his con-

naxions, who shall not unequivocally pledge himself to support the following salutary and necessary measures.

Will you regularly attend your duty in parliament, and be governed by the instructions of your constituents? Will you, in and out of the House, with all your ability and influence, promote the success of a Bill for amending the representation of the People? A Bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the British House of Commons? A Bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners, and the amount of pensions? A Bill for preventing revenue officers from voting or interfering at elections? A Bill for rendering the servants of the crown of Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money? A Bill to protect the personal safety of the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail; and against the stretching of the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution?—And will you, as far as in you lies, prevent any renewal of the Police Act?

Those who shall a moment hesitate to enter into such an agreement with their electors, cannot be faithful servants of the public, nor deserve the countenance of an honest man.

Resolved unanimously.—That we will not vote for, nor support, any candidate who shall not solemnly and publicly pledge himself to the measures recommended to the electors of Ireland, in the preceding Address.

(Signed by order)

GAWIN HAMILTON, President,
A. HALIDAY, Secretary.

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB.

Ed. Jones Agnew, Esq. Kilwaghter	Mr Robert Bradshaw, Belfast
Thos. M. Jones, Esq. Moneyglass	Wm. Brownlow, jun, Esq. Lurgan
Richard Bamber, Esq. Belfast	Mr Thomas Brown, Belfast
Earl of Charlemont	Earl of Moira
Lord de Clifford	H. Montgomery, Esq. Tullycarnet
J. Crawford Esq. Crawford's-burn	Mr Hugh Montgomery, Belfast
Marriott Dalway, Esq. Bellahill	Rev. Robert Mortimore, Comber
Francis Dobbs, Esq. Philipsburgh	Mr Thomas Nevin, Downpatrick
Thomas Douglas, Esq. Grace-hall	Rt. Hon. J. O'Neill, Shanescastle
George Douglas, Esq. Mount-Ida	Eldred Pottinger, Esq. Craigavade
Mr James Ferguson, Belfast	Francis Price, Esq. Greenpark
Mathew Forde, Esq. Seaford	Nicholas Price, Esq. Saintfield
Mathew Forde, Esq. Ballee	Rt. Hon. H. L. Rowley, Summerhill
John Forbes, Drogheda	Hon. H. Rowley, Langford Lodge
John Crawford Gordon, Esq. Florida	Clotworthy Rowley, Esq. Dublin
Richard Griffith, Esq. Millicent	A. Hamilton Rowan, Esq. Rathcoffy
Savage Hall, Esq. Mount Hall	Mr J. G. Smith, Belfast

Dr Haliday, Belfast

Gavin Hamilton, Esq. Killileagh

William Hoey, Esq. Dunganstown

Simon Isaac, Esq. Hollywood

Arthur Johnston, Esq. Rademon

Mr Henry Joy, Belfast

Mr James Trail Kennedy, Belfast

Richard Jervais Ker, Esq. Redhall

Dr Mattear, Belfast

Mr Samuel M'Tier, Belfast

Alex. M'Manus, Esq. Mountdavis

William Sharman, Esq. Moira

John Simon, Esq. Mountpleasant

Mon. R. Stewart, Mount Stewarrt

James Stewart, Esq. Cookstown

William Stewart, Esq. Killimoon

Alexander Stewart, Esq. Ardes

William Todd Jones, Esq. Lisburn

T. Thompson, Esq. Greenmount

Mr Robert Thompson, Belfast

Hon. Edward Ward, Castleward

Hon. Robert Ward, Bangor

Gilbert Webster, Esq. Belfast

Samuel Stone, Esq. Barnhill

Mr William Sinclair, Belfast

James White, Esq. Whitehall

The following, among other TOASTS, were drank at this meeting.—“The Memory of George I. who declared his willingness to have the Crown limited in the creation of Peers. Good memories, right feelings, and a just spirit of retribution to the Electors of Ireland.—Disgrace and disappointment to the Bribers and the Bribed.—President Washington and the United States of America.—A happy establishment to the Gallic Constitution, and may we learn wisdom from those whom we have taught.—Freedom to the Brabanters.—The Glorious Memory.—Our Sovereign Lord, the People.”

COUNTY OF ANTRIM ELECTION.

In the month of June, the electors of the county of Antrim took advantage of the opportunity of a general election to display their zeal for constitutional principles, by delegating the important trust of representatives to those only who declared their resolution of promoting a REFORM in parliament. The candidates on this occasion were the Right Hon. John O'Neill (afterwards *Lord O'Neill*,) the Hon. Hercules Rowley (afterwards *Lord Langford*,) James Leslie, and Edward Alexander M'Naghten, Esqrs. The two latter gentlemen refused to sign the test which was offered to them, but it was instantly complied with by Messrs O'Neill and Rowley, who declared—“that

it was impossible they could hesitate one moment to avow their approbation of those measures which they had exerted themselves to obtain for the people of this kingdom, and which they looked upon as essential to the constitution." The test was as follows:—

-We do hereby promise and engage, that we will, if returned to serve in Parliament for this country, regularly attend our duty there, and be governed by the instructions of our constituents. We will in and out of the house with all our ability and influence promote the success of a Bill for amending the representation of the people; and the abolishing of the rotten boroughs in this kingdom; a Bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the British House of Commons; a Bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners, and the amount of pensions:

A Bill for preventing revenue officers from voting or interfering at elections:—A Bill for rendering the servants of the crown of Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money:—A Bill to protect the personal safety of the subject from arbitrary and excessive bail, and against the stretching of the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution:—And that we will, as far as in us lies, prevent any renewal of the Police Act.

HERCULES ROWLEY.

JOHN O'NEILL.

At the close of the poll (on which occasion 3,538 freeholders exercised their privilege of voting,) Messrs O'Neill and Rowley were declared duly elected. "After the usual form of chairing in Carrickfergus (the county town,) the successful candidates were received at some distance from Belfast by a great body of electors, and an immense multitude of others. Their approach was announced by a discharge of cannon from the two Volunteer Artillery corps, which paraded for the purpose. A magnificent triumphal car having been prepared with much taste and expence in Belfast, the members were placed in it; Mr Rowley on the right, and Mr O'Neill on the left, with two lovely youths, his sons, at each side. Instead of suffering themselves to be dragged into town by their fellow-creatures, they were drawn by six horses elegantly caparisoned; the pos-

tilions dressed in white jackets, and hats trimmed and lined with blue, a scarf of the same colour falling gracefully across the shoulder into a knot at the side. In front of the two members a figure of HIBERNIA, holding in one hand a wreath, and in the other the *Cap of Liberty*, elevated on a pole, formed a prominent part of the embellishments. The sides and back of the car bore in conspicuous characters several pointed inscriptions.

The spectators seemed highly pleased with the idea of Masters Charles and John O'Neill being in so novel a manner presented to this part of the county; conceiving it intended to give an early impression to their infant minds of the value of popular honours when founded on the confidence of fellow-subjects. To gratify the anxiety of the people, the cavalcade, attended by a band of music, passed through every street of consequence; and after the ceremony, which occupied considerable time, was over, the members were entertained at dinner by such an assemblage of the inhabitants as has seldom been seen on any occasion. In the close of the evening the town was illuminated, a great bonfire was lighted in the market-place, the romantic summit of the Cave-Hill presented a similar ornament to the view of the several adjoining counties, and a third one presented itself at Bunker's-Hill, in the county of Down.

The toasts at dinner partook of the prevailing feelings of the times, viz.—The gentlemen of the four lower baronies who supported the independent interest of the county, by allowing their tenantry to vote *as their wishes led them*. The free independent electors of Ireland, and may they on every occasion support approved good members with spirit, and reject the bad with indignation. May the vigilance and spirit of the people always keep pace with the depravity and corruption of administration. The Free States of America. A speedy and com-

plete establishment of the free Gallic constitution.—The glorious memory of King William.—The memory of John Hamden.—The memory of Lord Russel and the Exclusioners.—A speedy and effectual Reform of the representation of the people in parliament.—Success to a place—a pension—a responsibility bill, and to one for excluding revenue officers from voting at, or interfering with elections.—May the flame of liberty, which warms and enlightens its friends, consume its enemies.—Peace on earth, and good-will to all men.”

August 11.—At a meeting of THE BELFAST TROOP OF LIGHT DRAGOONS, at Bunkers-hill, on the 11th August 1790, the following RESOLUTIONS were unanimously entered into:—

1st.—That as we took up arms in defence of our country and our liberties, we will not lay them down while any circumstance of danger threatens either.

2d.—That we have observed with heartfelt satisfaction, the firm and constitutional stand which the Common Council and citizens of Dublin have made against a late alarming attack on their rights and franchises, in the face of a direct and positive law; and considering them entitled to the praise and thanks of all true Irishmen, we respectfully beg of them to accept this testimony of our approbation and gratitude.

3d.—That the readiness and cordiality with which that most respectable society, the WHITE CLUB, have from the first, and throughout, made the cause of the city their own, as it is in truth the common cause of all, entitle them to general applause and general gratitude; and we entreat them to accept of this tribute of our thankful approbation of their able exertions in defence of the law of the land and the rights of the People, and of the resolution entered into on the 2d instant, which we at once admire as a convincing and masterly argument, and a spirited avowal of the noblest and most constitutional principles.

4th.—That we feel ourselves called upon to thank in particular the Earl of Moira, and our much beloved general the Earl of Charlemont, for their very dignified conduct, which—and we can say no more, was worthy of themselves, and the good cause in which they were embarked.

(Signed by order)

HUGH M'ILWAIN, Secretary,
BELFAST LIGHT DRAGOONS.

Similar Resolutions were entered into at the same period, by the Belfast Volunteer Company, signed SAMUEL GIBSON,

Secretary, and by the Northern Whig Club, signed EZEKIEL D. BOYD, President, and ALEX. HALIDAY, Secretary.

November 4.—Being the anniversary of the birth of KING WILLIAM, there was a full meeting of the members of the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, at the Donegall Arms. After dinner the following toasts were drank :—The 4th of November 1650 the birth day of our glorious deliverer.—The Revolution of 88 ; may its principles ever be supported, and its blessings preserved and increased.—A Speedy establishment to the tranquillity and freedom of France.—President Washington, and the United States of America.—The Majority of the People.—The cause for which Hamden bled in the field, and Sidney on the Scaffold.—All those who, with true Whig hearts and sound Revolution principles, are commemorating this day, &c. &c.

February 15, 1791.—At a full meeting of the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, Donegall-Arms, Belfast, on the 15th instant, one of their stated days : in commemoration of THE CONGRESS AT DUNGANNON :—*Resolved*,

1st.—That this Club think it incumbent on them at this time, publicly to display their veneration for the person and character of the Earl of Charlemont, and their perfect approbation of the steadiness, consistency, and dignified spirit of his conduct ; which sets him far above the reach of the insults of power, or the spleen and malignity of a vindictive and factious administration.

2d.—It being matter of notoriety that a charge respecting the sale of the honours of the peerage in this kingdom, for the purpose of corrupting the popular branch of the legislature, and a direct proposal to substantiate the fact, have been brought forward by persons of the first senatorial dignity and consequence.—*Resolved*,

That it is our ardent wish, in common with that of every other society of freemen, that a subject of such high importance to the fountain of honour, and to the parity of our House of Lords (the hereditary counsellors of the crown, and the ultimate judicial power,) be freely discussed and determined on by the Parliament of Ireland ; and that it may not be found within the compass of ministerial influence to defeat or interrupt an inquiry of such constitutional moment.

JOHN C. GORDON, President.

A. HALIDAY, Secretary.

At the above Meeting the following Toasts were drank :

Lord Charlemont and the Volunteers of Ireland. — A speedy and effectual Reform to the Representation of the People in Parliament. — An end to Corruption, detestation and contempt to the Corrupters and the Corrupted. — A due degree of respect for, and confidence in, that administration which skulks from inquiry. — The glorious memory. — The glorious revolution of 88; may its principles gain ground, and its blessings be improved. — The revolution Society and the rights of men. The French Revolution; a speedy and happy completion to it. The Free States of America, and permanency to their excellent constitution. President Washington, and consistency like his or a Charlemont's to all characters that have been respectable. A stop to the bloody ravages of the Semiramis of the North (Catherine II.) and her cut-throat barbarians.

June 15th. — At a general and stated meeting of the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, on the 15th of June 1791. — The anniversary of Magna Charta; the following resolutions were *unanimously* entered into :

DR HALIDAY, in the Chair.

Resolved. — That considering the French Revolution as one of the most important and universally interesting events which the world ever saw, and as particularly such to the inhabitants of these islands, as it promises to lead the way to an orderly and gradual reform of those abuses which have maimed and disfigured the constitution; we shall, as men, as whigs — as citizens of this empire, meet on the 14th of July next, to celebrate that astonishing event, which constitutes a glorious era in the history of man and of the world.

A letter from the *Whigs of the Capital*, being produced by the Secretary and read,

Resolved. — That an answer be returned, thanking the whigs of the capital for their communication, and assuring them of the co-operation of the Northern Whig Club in promoting the objects thereof; and that the Northern Whig Club will be happy in keeping up a correspondence with them, and with every other association formed on similar principles.

ALEXANDER HALIDAY, Chairman.

HENRY JOY, Secretary.

Toasts of the day.

The Revolution and Constitutional Societies of Great Britain.—The National Assembly of France and worthy and able Successors to them.—A speedy completion of the good work they have so happily begun.—Thomas Paine; and the rights of man.—The Majesty of the people, &c.

COMMEMORATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

From the Belfast News Letter.

July 14, 1791.—“ In this eventful period, which reflects new light on the general principles and science of government, the unexampled Revolution in France forms the most prominent and luminous object.

Twenty-six Millions of our fellow creatures, (near one sixth of the inhabitants of Europe,) bursting their chains, and throwing off, almost in an instant, the degrading yoke of slavery—is a scene so new, interesting, and sublime, that the heart which cannot participate in the triumph, must either have been vitiated by illiberal politics, or be naturally depraved.

The glory of the various states that in their turns figured on the theatre of the world, sets to rise no more. Not so our Gallic neighbours; who have given almost the first precedent of a great nation once in the full enjoyment of freedom, but long since deprived of it, restoring themselves to their natural level among men, and giving practical existence to the finest theories of the philosopher and politician.

The Inhabitants of Belfast and its neighbourhood, the more strongly to mark their abhorrence of despotism, their love of liberty, and their attachment to their brethren of mankind, dedicated this day to the commemoration of the greatest event in human annals.

In the striking, serious, and splendid manner which they adopted, for celebrating the destruction of the BASTILLE, they were actuated by the same principle which, in the last century, taught them to rejoice in the dethronement of a despot (James II) by the Revolution of 1688, and attached them to the line now on the throne; by the same principle that led them to deprecate an unjust war on their *then* fellow subjects in America; that prompted them to take the lead in forming a Volunteer army; that made them declare their sentiments in the most decided tone, on the subject of restoring to imperial Ireland her independency as a Sovereign State; and that determined them to assert the necessity of purifying the tainted parts of the Constitution, by giving the People their due influence in the legislation of this kingdom.

THE PROCESSION.

At two o'clock the Volunteer Societies of this place, consisting of two very full companies, a Troop of Light Dragoons, and two Artillery Corps, with four brass six-pounders, together with such a multitude

of our unarmed inhabitants as no former event ever was the means of assembling, met at the *Exchange*, and were formed in the following order:—

1. The Troop.—2. Artillery of the Belfast First Company.—3. A large portrait of the venerable DOCTOR FRANKLIN, (elevated on a pole, borne by two young volunteers. On a scroll under the figure the following motto, containing the Doctors own words, presented itself—“*Where Liberty is—There is my Country.*”—4. COLONEL SHARMAN, of Moira Castle, the President for the day.—5. The First Belfast Company.—6. The Belfast Volunteer Company.—7. A Portrait of MONSIEUR MIRABEAU, (borne by two young volunteers,) with the following motto, being a translation from one of his orations in favour of the rights of men—“*Can the African Slave Trade, though morally Wrong, be politically Right?*”—8. Artillery of the Belfast Volunteer Company.—9. The GREAT STANDARD, elevated on a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, with two volunteers as supporters; containing, on one side of the canvass, eight feet and a half long by six in depth, a very animated representation of *The Releasement of the Prisoners from the Bastille.*

The point of time chosen for its subject was that at which the first of the French guards, burst into the infernal mansion of despotism. The doors of a number of subterraneous cells, and several of the unhappy victims chained to the earth in the most torturing attitudes—with skeletons of wretches that had been suffered to expire and their bodies to remain, were well and affectingly described. The soldier is represented in the act of liberating the unhappy prisoners; the principle figure among which is that of the old man who had been confined upwards of thirty years. His emaciated and debilitated figure was well calculated to promote abhorrence in the breast of every spectator. Motto at the bottom of the painting—“*Fourteenth July, 1789; Sacred to Liberty.*” The reverse contained a large figure of Hibernia in a reclining posture, one hand and foot in shackles, a Volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty, supported by an Artillery-man resting on a piece of ordinance. Motto—“*For a people to be free, it is sufficient that they will it.*”—10. The Northern Whig Club, and a body of the Citizens, amounting to a very great number, formed in pairs, closed the procession. A green cockade, the national colour of Ireland, was worn by the whole body.

After three o'clock they moved forward in this order, passing through every street of any consequence in the town; and when arrived at the White Linen Hall, three *feu de joyes* were fired by the Battalion Companies, answered between each by seven guns from the Artillery. The whole body of Volunteers and Citizens then entered the great square within the Hall, and having formed a widely extended circle, unanimously agreed to, and afterwards announced with cheers, a Declaration of their sentiments on the French Revolution, which is to be transmitted to the National Assembly of France through their President.

The different Corps having been marched off to their separate parades, returned to the Hall with side arms, and sat down to dinner at a single table in the south wing of the Hall, with a number of the citizens, which remained, amounting to *three hundred and fifty-four*.

Colonel Sharman, whose excellent political and private virtues, have stood such tests as endear him to every good mind in this kingdom, having been unanimously called to the chair, presided with that dignity and propriety which mark every part of his conduct in life.

The following Toasts, previously prepared by a Committee, of which their worthy Chairman was a member, were drank :

The King of Ireland. The 14th of July 1789 and 1790. A speedy perfection of the French Constitution ; and liberty to the nations that *dare* to contend for it. The National Assembly of France ; may equal wisdom, spirit, and decision direct the counsels of its Successors. May the injured Majesty of the people never complain without redress ; nor want the hands and hearts of millions to vindicate its cause. Monsieur la Fayette ; may an ardent love of their country, and a veneration for the rights of men, be held paramount to every other duty in the character of a soldier. May the glorious example of France teach the governments of the Earth wisdom ; the People, the inestimable value of freedom ; and Kings and Subjects, their reciprocal duties. May Great Britain, France, and Ireland, vie with each other in restoring the spirit of free government over the face of the earth ; and be the happy instruments of promoting peace, virtue, and happiness among men.—(*Three cheers.*) President Washington : an ornament of the human race. (*Three cheers and three plaudits.*) Lasting freedom and prosperity to the United States of America. The idea of a Patriot King, realised ; and Stanislaus Augustus, King of Poland. May the awful recollection of a High Commission, and Star Chamber ; of an Inquisition and a Bastile ; excite the good people of these realms to be watchful and fearless guardians of the democracy of their Constitution. Ireland. (*Three cheers and three*

plaudits.) A full and equal Representation of the people in Parliament. Perseverance and energy to the people of these kingdoms, till corruption shall cease to disfigure their constitution, and to rob them of their rights. An abolition of the Popery laws; and an extension of privileges to Roman Catholics. (*Three cheers and three plaudits.*) Lord Charlemont and perpetuity to the Volunteer army. Mr Paine; may perverted eloquence and deceitful sophistry ever meet so able an opposer. (*Nine cheers and nine plaudits.*) The Society for abolishing the Slave Trade. (*Three cheers, nine plaudits.*) Mr Grattan, and success to his modification of the Tythe Laws. (*Three cheers.*) The Northern Whig Club The Constitutional Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.—The Memory of John Locke; may his immortal doctrines on the Subject of Government universally prevail!—The Memory of Wm Molyneux.—The Memory of Doctor Franklin.—(*Three cheers and nine plaudits.*)—The Memory of Monsieur Mirabeau. The Memory of Doctor Price. (*Three cheers.*) The Memory of Dr Jebb.

After spending the day with a correct degree of order that could hardly be expected from so numerous an assemblage, and with decent festivity suitable to the glorious occasion of their meeting, the whole separated at an early hour, with the pleasing consciousness that they had been celebrating an event which deserves to be considered, not merely as the triumph of Frenchmen, but the triumph of Human Nature.

In consequence of a judicious regulation previously published, there were neither bonfires nor illuminations at night; it having been the idea of the town, that not intemperate joy, but dignified, rational, and deliberate rejoicings should close the scene.

The spirit which animated the inhabitants of Belfast is strongly marked by the increase of armed societies; the First Company having turned out on this occasion 93, the Belfast Volunteer Company 91, and the Troop of Light Dragoons 15, independently of a number of gentlemen not at present in town. The warm part which every age, sex, and description of the inhabitants took in the business of the day, manifested itself in the multitude that attended the procession; the number of which exceeded any thing we had ever seen in this town."

Declaration of the Volunteers and Inhabitants at large of the Town and Neighbourhood of Belfast, on the subject of the French Revolution ; Unanimously agreed to at an Assembly held by Public Notice, on the 14th of July, 1791.—COLONEL SHARMAN, President.

Neither on marble nor on brass can the Rights and duties of men be so durably registered as on their memories and on their hearts. We, therefore, meet this day to commemorate the French Revolution, that the remembrance of this great event may sink deeply into our hearts ; warmed not merely with the fellow feeling of townsmen, but with a sympathy which binds us to the human race in a brotherhood of interest, of duty, and of affection.

A Revolution of such moment to mankind, involving so many millions, embracing so great a country, and completed in so short a time, is apt to confound and perplex by the magnitude of the object, and the rapidity of its motion. We therefore think it best to attach our minds upon one simple sublime truth, where our opinions may centre, and our judgments find stability. We are men of plain, and we hope, sound understanding. We will disentangle ourselves from those bewitching bonds with which an enticing and meretricious eloquence has of late vainly endeavoured to tie down the freedom and the strength of Manhood ; and neither sophisticated by genius, nor rendered miserable by refinement and mystery, we will think, and declare our thoughts—not as politicians, but as Men, as Citizens, and as Volunteers.

As men, therefore, we think, that government is a trust for the use of the People—the *People*, in the largest sense of that misapprehended word. We think that the public weal is the end of government, and that the forms of government are merely the mutable means for obtaining this end ; means that may be changed or modelled by the real Will of the Public—a will supreme, paramount to all other authority.

As Citizens, we think that no people can promise unconditional obedience ; and that obedience itself ceases to be a duty, when the will of the People ceases to be the Law of the Land.

As Volunteers, we think that the force of the People should form the guarantee of Freedom, and that their freedom is the only sure guarantee of public happiness.

Here, then, we take our stand, and if we be asked, what is the French Revolution to us ? we answer ;—Much.

2. Much as MEN.—It is good for human nature that the grass grows where the Bastille stood. We do rejoice at an event which seemed the breaking of a charm that held ~~ancient~~ France in a Bastille of civil and religious bondage. When we beheld this enormous mishapen pile of abuses, cemented merely by custom, and raised upon the ignorance of a prostrate people, tottering to its base—to the very level of equal liberty and common weal, we do really rejoice at this Resurrection of Human Nature ; and we congratulate our brother, MAN, coming forth from the vaults of ingenious torture, and from the cave of death. We do con-

gratulate the Christian World that there is in it, one great Nation, which has renounced all ideas of conquest, and has published the first glorious Manifesto of humanity, of union, and of peace. In return, we pray to God that peace may rest in their land ; and that it may never be in the power of Royalty, Nobility, or a Priesthood, to disturb the harmony of a good people, consulting about those laws which must ensure their own happiness, and that of unborn millions.—The French Revolution is therefore much to us as men, and much to us,

2. As **IRISHMEN**. We too have a country, and we hold it very dear—so dear to us its *Interest*, that we wish *all Civil and Religious Intolerance* annihilated in this land—so dear to us its *Honour*, that we wish an eternal stop to the traffic of public liberty, which is bought by one and sold to another,—so dear to us its *Freedom*, that we wish for nothing so much as a *real representative of the national will*, the surest guide and guardian of national happiness.

Go on then—Great and Gallant People !—to practise the sublime philosophy of your legislation ; to force applause from nations least disposed to do you justice ; and not by conquest, but by the omnipotence of reason, to convert and liberate the World—a world whose eyes are fixed on you ; whose heart is with you ; who talks of you with all her tongues. You are, in very truth, the *Home of this World* : of all except a few men in a few cabinets, who thought the human race belonged to them, not they to the human race ; but now are taught by awful example, and tremble ; and dare not confide in armies arrayed against you and your cause.

Resolved, unanimously.—That a copy of this Declaration be forthwith transmitted, in our name, by our President, to the National Assembly of France.

WILLIAM SHARMAN, President.

Colonel Sharman having left the chair, and Lieutenant Colonel Banks being called to it :

Resolved, unanimously.—That the warmest thanks of this assembly be presented to our President, for his exemplary conduct on this and every former occasion, *as a Volunteer and an Irishman*. *

STEWART BANKS.

* “ It was intended at the celebration of the French Revolution on the 14th July 1791, at Belfast, to introduce a collateral resolution in favor of admitting the Catholics to the rights of citizenship ; which was, however, withdrawn, from an apprehension that the minds of those present, were not yet fully prepared for the measure. It was shortly afterwards received and adopted by the First Belfast Volunteer Company.” *Mac Neven, Pieces of Irish History*, p. 14.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB ON THE SUBJECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

At a full and happy Meeting of THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB on the 14th July, 1791; for the purpose of celebrating THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, which promises to prove as consequential to MAN as it is splendid in his Eyes, the following Resolutions were cordially and unanimously agreed to :

Resolved.—That as we have beheld with joy and admiration, the wisdom and magnanimity displayed by the people of France, in the commencement, and conduct of so great and necessary a Revolution, and on the most trying occasions in the course of it : We pray with sincerity of heart for the speedy and happy completion of the stupendous work ; and that, as they are already entitled to the respect and applause, they may soon be so to the Gratitude of the World, for leading the way to an universal diffusion of liberty, peace, and happiness.

Resolved.—That conceiving the civil constitution of these realms, in its pure and uncorrupted state, as the fittest model for us ; we shall on every occasion strenuously co-operate in a firm, steady, constitutional way, with all the lovers of it (whom we call upon for their vigorous co-operation,) in bringing about a fair and equal Representation of the People in Parliament ; being persuaded that nothing farther is necessary to secure and advance the liberty, the virtue, and the happiness of these countries ; and that without such reform the best acts and regulations of the legislature, however helpful and desirable in themselves, must fall short of the attainment of those vital objects.

THOMAS MORRIS JONES, Chairman.

TOASTS.

The 14th of July, 1789, when Tyranny received a deadly blow in France, by the gallant storming of the Bastile.—The 14th of July, 1790, when the Liberty of France began to be secured by the fœderation in the Champ de Mars.—The Nation, and the National Assembly of France.—A speedy settlement of that magnanimous nation, under a free and permanent constitution.—The memory of Dr Price.—Thomas Paine, and the Rights of Man.—James Mackintosh, and his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*.—The Glorious Memory of King William.—The Revolution of

1688; may its blessings be perpetuated and improved.—Short Parliaments, and an equal Representation to the People of Ireland and Great Britain.—All those who sincerely rejoice in the French Revolution, and disappointment to its enemies.—Peace on earth, and good will to all men.—THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, &c. &c.

The anniversary of the French Revolution was also celebrated with every demonstration of joy by the volunteers, of Dublin, Clubs, Societies, &c. in Ballymoney, Banbridge, Newry, Downpatrick, Randalstown, Derry, and different other parts of Ireland.

Address of the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, at Bourdeaux; to the Volunteers and Inhabitants of the Town and Environs of Belfast, in Ireland.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS.—Yes, generous Irishmen! receive this appellation which we have hitherto granted exclusively to Frenchmen, true friends of our Constitution. Receive it, notwithstanding the distance which separates us; the difference of our idioms, and of our manners. Men inspired by a love of the human kind, and the spirit of liberty, are mutually attracted, however distant their situations—there is nothing intermediate between them were they placed at different extremities of the globe. The citizens who agreed to the declaration concluded on at Belfast on the 14th July 1791, are then all our Brothers and our Friends.

Your Address,* read the 12th of this month, at one of the public sittings of our society, and frequently interrupted by universal bursts of applause, has filled our souls with sentiments of delight; in contemplating the purity, the compass, and the energy of your maxims respecting the natural and political Rights of Man. We fancied we beheld the standard of liberty, which philosophy at this day unfurls in every part of Europe, arrested in its progress on the rocks of Ireland, to receive the new homage of an enlightened people.

The truth of your sentiments; the depth of your reflections; the gratefulness of your expressions, recalled to our recollection those celebrated bards, those immortal poets, whom the rage of the tyrannous Edward pursued with his most cruel persecutions, to stifle the voice of the country, of honour, and of liberty.

* Found in a number of the *Courier de L'Europe*, for the month of August.

France has given the signal of a holy insurrection against all prejudices, against all abuses, against all illegitimate authorities. May it, as you desire, become general among the human race! That day, friends and brethren, will arrive, when the different parts of the civilized world shall raise together their eloquent voice; which, like that of Belfast, shall assert the rights of the People, and teach them to recover them by the empire of reason, and the power of the laws.

Receive, friends and brethren, the congratulations and thanks of a free people, transmitted to you, through us, as their organ; for the example which you yourselves lately gave to the universe.*

We congratulate you on the talents displayed in the exposition of your principles, respecting the nature and the end of government. We congratulate you on the sagacity, the noble freedom with which you have pointed out the influence of the French Revolution on the happiness of every people. We congratulate you on the courage with which you force tyrants to listen to expressions of that lively interest which you take in our fate; to hear the prayer which you address to God, that he may protect us with his power; to attend, above all, to the ardent vows which you have offered up for our success. In fine, we congratulate you, brethren and friends, on the respect which you have shewn to the National Assembly of France, by addressing to it directly your Declaration. Ah! that you could conceive the degree in which that brilliant act of admiration has penetrated our souls with joy and gratitude: that you could conceive how much all good Frenchmen are touched, honoured, filled with noble pride, when they behold the just tribute of applause (which they themselves unceasingly offer to their regenerative assembly;) passing from mouth to mouth, from clime to clime—to that council of sages, who thus enjoy beforehand the glory with which posterity will crown it!—We are,

With the most tender affection,

Friends and Brothers;

**THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS
OF THE CONSTITUTION, AT BOURDEAUX:**

*At Bourdeaux, 14th August, 1791,
in the 3d Year of our Liberty.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

The Friends of the Constitution of France, at Nantes; to the Inhabitants and Volunteers of the Town and environs of Belfast:

It is with a sentiment of the most profound admiration, of the most intimate confidence, that the society of the Friends of the Constitution, at Nantes, have been present at the reading of your Declaration, inserted in the 10th Number of the *Courier de L'Europe*.

§ Alluding to the Volunteer Institution.

You may have foreseen to what degree this sublime Declaration renders you dear to the French. The tributary homage it offers to our Revolution, is in effect glorious for us, and worthy of you. Ah! yes, undoubtedly, to free nations alone, or to those worthy of being so, belongs the honour of celebrating the day, for ever memorable, on which twenty-five millions of men, giving a glorious example to subjected people, broke the fetters of slavery; the day on which the den of ministerial vengeance disappeared—that tomb of the living, where innocent victims were sacrificed to the rage of despotism. That day, in a word, when, resuming the sacred Rights of Man, the French displayed the flag of liberty, and swore to live free or die.

Citizens of Belfast! you have celebrated that triumph of the human kind, and you have done it with such splendour, as renders you truly worthy to partake of the hatred with which we are honoured by crowned tyrants.

It is to the National Assembly, or rather to the French nation that you have paid the homage of your sentiments—it discerns in your Declaration the honour it merits, that of immortality. Yes, men worthy of liberty, your declaration is immortal.

It shall be transmitted to the latest posterity; and we swear to preserve it in our archives, as the most precious monument and pledge of the glory of the French.

NANTES, 18th August, 1791.

August 1.—Twenty-seven corps of Volunteers were reviewed on the commons of Armagh by Colonel James Stewart of Killymoon. The Belfast volunteers attended on this occasion, viz. the Belfast Troop, uniform, *Blue and Silver*—1st Company, *Green and Gold*—Ditto Artillery, two 6-pounders, *Blue and Gold*—Volunteer Company, and Artillery, two 6-pounders, *Blue and Gold*. An address was voted to Lord Charlemont, (then residing at Bath) signed by Waddell Cunningham, chairman, to which his Lordship was pleased to return an answer expressing his “misfortune in having been compelled to absent himself at a time when his inclination and his duty both equally demanded his attendance.” “Respecting the salutary and important measure of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, my sentiments (says his Lordship,) remain perfectly unaltered, and I am happy to find, that you steadily persist in your desire of an object by the attainment of which our

constitution will be perfected, and which, like all our other objects, will in my opinion, *finally be attained by perseverance, firmness, and moderation*; and I need not, I am convinced, intreat you to be assured that I will at all times strenuously co-operate in every loyal and constitutional means towards promoting a measure by which, as you will observe, the form of government under which we live, will be rendered *the most lasting and the most favored under Heaven*.

UNITED IRISHMEN.

In the month of October, this year, the first society of United Irishmen was constituted in Belfast. Their ostensible object was to procure "*a complete reform in the legislature, founded on a communion of rights, and a union of power, among Irishmen of every religious persuasion*."—But projects of a more dangerous nature appear to have been entertained by the leaders—the entire *separation* of this country from England, and the erection of a democratical commonwealth in its place.

The following are the **DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS** of this society at its first institution in this town:—

In the present great era of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare;—we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT—we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people*,—qualities which may be

exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland—**AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.**

We do not here mention as grievances, the rejection of a place-bill, of a pension-bill, of a responsibility bill, the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people, in their own government, but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called **THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN**; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following Resolutions—

First, Resolved.—That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among *all the people of Ireland* to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.

Second.—That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

Third.—That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include *Irishmen* of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied, as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations in measures which, but for these divisions they durst not have attempted; we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith.

We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy.—With a parliament thus reformed, every thing is easy: without it nothing can be done. And we do call on and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of men through all sects and denominations of Irishmen. The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions **FOR EVER!**

Signed by order of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast,

ROBERT SIMMS, Secretary.

November 4.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB,
IN FAVOUR OF REFORM.

At a meeting of the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, held at Belfast on the 4th of November, 1791, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to,

GILBERT WEBSTER, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved.—That the great foundation and security of the British Constitution, so admirable in description, and so much vaunted even in its actual state is, *the Power of the Purse* resting with the People.

Resolved.—That Ireland's right to that constitution cannot be disputed, nor of course her right to that foundation and security.

Resolved.—That the People cannot be said to retain the Power of the Purse, while the grants and disposal of their money vest in a body where neither the wisdom nor the will of the people are deposited; a great majority of that body being nominated by the executive power, and an aristocracy.

Resolved.—That an Effectual Reform of Parliament is the only thing which can give to Ireland the blessings of a free constitution.

Resolved therefore.—That it is incumbent upon us to take every opportunity of inculcating these truths, and enforcing this most vital measure; and of calling on every other WHIG—and CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, to speak out on this point; and not only to speak, but to make every proper exertion to effectuate such necessary Reform; and we call upon ALL reflecting Irishmen, to turn their thoughts on the best means of attaining this paramount and indispensable object—being apprehensive that without such Reform, when the minds of Irishmen are fully awakened (their eyes are already opened,) they may refuse to submit to taxes imposed on them without their consent, and squandered with a shameless and corrupt profusion, to the further disgrace and detriment of the nation.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Roscommon and its vicinity, held the 5th of December, 1791,

JOHN FALLON, Esq. of Runnymede, in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously to send the following Address to the volunteers of Belfast:

GENTLEMEN.—We should think it a great omission, not to return you our warmest thanks for your very liberal declaration in favour of general liberty and universal toleration—our peculiar situation, in this our native country, requires this particular mark of our gratitude. Long scourged with penal laws, and long aspersed with holding principles inimical to our country and our fellow-subjects; we should remain to persons less enlightened, objects of neglect—to persons less liberal, objects for oppression. Our animosities are buried with the bones of our ancestors; and our warmest wish and our hope is—that they shall be buried for ever.

Should sentiments like yours universally prevail, our hope would be reduced to a certainty : in the acquisition of the affections of our fellow-subjects, we obtain a species of freedom ; and imagine we are sending you the thanks of a people half liberated, which we are certain are to you the more acceptable.

We look forward with pleasure to the day when we expect to be, with the approbation of our fellow-subjects of all descriptions, admitted to the rights of citizens, as well as to their esteem.

JOHN FALLON, Chairman.

NORTHERN STAR.

On the 4th of January, 1792 was published the First Number of the Northern Star,—a Publication conspicuous in the annals of Ireland, and the object of which was avowedly to advocate the cause of the Society of United Irishmen. In its Preliminary Address to ~~THE PEOPLE~~, it declares that its attention will chiefly be turned, to a Parliamentary Reform founded on a *real representation of the People*, and to the *Union of Irishmen*.—"To the former object, its efforts will continue to be exerted until the venal borough trade shall terminate,—until corruption shall no longer at least be publicly avowed, and until the commons house of Parliament shall become the real Organ of the PUBLIC WILL ; then, and then only, shall the labours of the Northern Star in this great national business cease." *The Public Will our Guide ; The Public Good our End*, continued to be its motto, till its final dissolution.

Encouraged by the flattering appearance of popular opinion which prevailed at this period, the Roman Catholics of Ireland began to entertain hopes, that there was some chance of an amelioration in their political situation. The extent of their claims on the legislature, appear at first to have been confined to the abolition of "*Some of the incapacities under which they laboured*, and the concessions of the *elective franchise*," but they did not long remain satisfied with the acquisition of these objects. The efforts of the majority of the protestant inhabitants of this town, were, at this period, unremittingly exerted in behalf of the Roman Catholic demands, and their proceedings on this head are here presented to the reader.

January 19.—Resolutions of the Roman Catholics of
Belfast.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Catholics of
Belfast and its district :

The Rev. HUGH O'DONNELL, P. P. in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

Resolved.—That the hitherto peaceable demeanor of the Catholics of Ireland, must give the Legislature the most unequivocal proof of their Loyalty to his Majesty, obedience to laws, and attachment to the constitution of the realm.

Resolved.—That the general Committee of the Catholics of Dublin, deputed as they are by the general voice of our body from all parts of the kingdom is, and ought to be, the only organ through which our opinions can be declared, and through which our sentiments can or ought to be made known ; and we solicit that Committee of Friends and Patriots in the cause of our emancipation, to accept our sincere and warmest thanks, for their zeal in supporting our cause, by humble application to the Legislature in our behalf.

Resolved.—That we detest and hold in abhorrence any individual, however exalted his rank or situation, who steps forward with insidious zeal and untrue fabrications, to represent us as a divided people, indifferent, to that degree of emancipation which the general Committee are constitutionally, and we trust not ineffectually, soliciting from Government ; and well knowing that our sect entertain no principles hostile to the Constitution, we hold in abhorrence the sentiments set forth in a late Address, “ that any circumstances, or situation of the empire should render the repeal of ALL penal statutes dangerous or impolitic.

Resolved.—That as some doubts may still exist, from malignant insinuations having gone forth, that our worthy protestant brethren of Ulster, (who have lately so distinguished themselves by forming the Societies of United Irishmen ; by their proceedings at the late Town Meeting and by other public acts in our favour) are not sincere in their expressions, as set forth in their liberal declarations, we cheerfully stand forward to assert, that such insinuations are groundless and void of truth ; and that we with great pleasure contemplate that true spirit of Christianity which produces the harmony, brotherly love, and affection subsisting among us.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

HUGH O'DONNELL, Chairman.

January 23:—RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD SOCIETY OF
UNITED IRISHMEN AT BELFAST.

At a meeting of the 3d Society of United Irishmen of Belfast, on the 3d of January, 1792

Resolved, unanimously.—That we adopt the following as the engagement of our plighted faith to our country and to each other, to be subscribed by every member on his admission, viz.—We pledge ourselves to our country and to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour, by all due means, to carry into effect the following Resolutions :

1. *Resolved.*—“ That the weight of English influence in the government of this country, is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.

2. *Resolved.*—“ That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is a complete and radical Reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

3. “ That no Reform is practicable, efficacious, and just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

(Signed by order,)

ALEXANDER WATT

To the Principal Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast.

GENTLEMEN.—As men, and as Irishmen, we have long lamented the degrading state of slavery and oppression in which the great majority of our countrymen, the Roman Catholics, are held—nor have we lamented it in silence. We wish to see all distinctions on account of religion abolished—all narrow, partial maxims of policy done away. We anxiously wish to see the day when every Irishman shall be a citizen—when Catholics and Protestants, equally interested in their country's welfare, possessing equal freedom and equal privileges, shall be cordially united, and shall learn to look upon each other as brethren, the children of the same God, the natives of the same land—and when the only strife amongst them shall be, who shall serve their country best. These Gentlemen, are our sentiments, and these we are convinced are yours.

We therefore request a general meeting of the principal inhabitants at the Town-house, on Saturday next, at noon, to consider of the propriety of a petition to parliament, in favour of our Roman Catholic brethren.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

Belfast, Jan. 23, 1792.

Robert Thompson,
Thomas Sinclaire,
Robert Simms,
Gilbert M'Ilveen, Jun.
Thomas Milliken,
Samuel Neilson

Thomas Neilson,
Thomas M'Donnell,
Robert Hunter,
Thomas M'Cabe,
William Martin,
James M'Cormick

Robert Getty,
James Hyndman,
Robert Major,
Walter Crawford,
Samuel M'Murray,
Thomas Brown,

Samuel M'Tier	James Luke,	John Bankhead,
Hugh M'Ilwain,	James M'Kain,	Isaac Patton,
William M'Cleary,	Hamilton Thompson,	J. Campbell White,
William Tennent,	Hugh Johnston,	J. S. Ferguson,
William Magee,	Christopher Strong,	John Todd
William Simms,	George Wells,	Richard M'Clelland,
Robert Callwell,	James Stephenson,	John M'Connell,
Hugh Montgomery,	Samuel M'Clean,	John M'Clean,
John M'Donnell,	John Graham,	Andrew M'Clean,
Henry Haslett,	William Bryson,	Thomas Ash,
David Bigger,	John Tisdall,	John Caldwell,
John Haslett,	Hugh Crawford	

January 28.—BELFAST MEETING ON THE ROMAN CATHOLIC QUESTION.

In consequence of the requisition (page 363) a numerous assembly of the inhabitants was held in the New Meeting House, and (the Rev. Sinclair Kelburn being called to the chair) Mr John Holmes, after a prefatory speech in favour of a liberation of the Roman Catholics from the system of penal laws, moved for the appointment of a special committee in order to prepare a petition to parliament in behalf of their Roman Catholic brethren;—and further, that it should be an instruction to that committee, to make the following words *the prayer* of the petition, the preamble and body of the petition to be modelled according to the spirit and meaning of the prayer:—

“ We therefore pray, that the legislature may be pleased to repeal, *from time to time, and as speedily as the circumstances of the whole kingdom will permit,* all penal and restrictive statutes at present in existence against the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and that they may thus be restored to the rank and consequence of citizens, *in every particular.*”

This motion was seconded by Dr Haliday. Mr John Thomson moved that the words in the prayer of the petition, marked in *Italics*, should be expunged, in which he was seconded by Dr White, Robert Getty, Merchant, and Dr

M'Donnell. This motion was, on the other side, opposed by Dr Bruce and Dr Haliday, who contended that "the influence of the priesthood ~~over~~ the minds of the laity must be considerably reduced, before we could with truth say, that an extension to all their body, of elective franchise, would encrease the virtual basis of election."

On the question for *expunging* being put, it was carried by a very considerable majority. A motion was then made by Mr Joy, that "it was the duty, as well as the interest of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity to make a solemn declaration of their religious principles, as far as they were connected with civil and political liberty," which passed unanimously. Feeling some apprehensions that their real sentiments should be misunderstood, the minority at the above meeting published a declaration on the 30th of January, in which they state that the only point of difference between them and the majority, was, whether the entire enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics, including suffrage at elections, should be *immediate* or *progressive*—"from time to time, and as speedily as the circumstances of the country, and the general welfare of the whole kingdom will permit."—Signed by William Bristow, Sovereign; Waddel Cunningham, Henry Joy, John Ashmore, Cunningham Gregg, Narcissus Batt, Samuel H. Batt, James Ferguson, Charles Brett, Christopher Hudson, James M'Adam, John Gregg, Joseph Stevenson, Thomas Lyle, James Suffern, and nearly 250 others.

February 1.—A third Society of United Irishmen was established in this town.

February 4.—The Rev. S. Kelburn, chairman of the late Town Meeting, received a letter from Edward Byrne, Chairman of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, assuring him "of the deep sense which the General Committee feel of the obligations they owe to Mr Kelburn,

and their worthy fellow-citizens of Belfast, for the marks of kindness which they have, on former occasions, received from him, and particularly for the petition which they had lately determined to present to parliament in their behalf."—"The object of their present application to parliament," is stated in his letter to be "*a partial admission only* to the rights of free subjects."

Feb. 8.—The Petition from Belfast in favour of the Roman Catholics, signed by more than 600 persons was presented to the House of Commons by Rt. Hon. John O'Neill. The question being put that the petition be received, was carried with the single negative of Sir Boyle Roche, with singular intemperance of language, who declared that "it was an airy fabric raised upon a sandy foundation, and had for its base fraud and deceit," as it means the very reverse of what it professes. It brings to my recollection a latin passage, which in mind is very suitable to it,—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. I remember said he, that in the year 1778 when the first bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, came before this house, that the Subscribers to the present petition instructed their representatives to oppose them in all cases. But when the business came on, and they found that the old Protestant families were determined to support the suffering part of the people, they changed their ground, (as they saw they could not oppose with effect,) and had immediate recourse to stratagem, by endeavouring in every way in their power to debauch the lower order of the Catholics, settled among them. For this purpose they went to mass with them, built chapels for them, and mixed with them, through every part of the kingdom, for the mere purpose of corrupting them. The first meeting held at Dungannon, was upon that ground, as well as the next held in Dublin in 1783—meetings disgraceful to this country. At that critical period, it is very well know

that your petitioners gave every aid and support possible to the American colonies then in *rebellion* against their mother country; and if fame tells truth, had entered into a solemn engagement with them to raise disturbances here to favour the enterprise.

“Now the question is, whether we will receive the insidious petition of a turbulent, disorderly set of people, *whom no King can govern, or no God can please*, or whether we shall treat it with its merited contempt! For my part, I call upon you to dispose of it as it deserves, by tossing it over the bar, and kicking it into the lobby: and I am determined to divide the house upon it, even if I should stand alone in so just a cause.”!! (*Parl. Reg.* Vol. XII. p. 85.)

Feb. 20.—Mr Latouche moved, that the petition from the Society of the *United Irishmen*, of Belfast, should be rejected. The question was put, and the petition rejected with 2 or 3 negatives. (*Parl. Reg.* p. 231.)

March 8.—At the meeting of the Friends of the Constitution at Bourdeaux, the following sentiments were expressed by the president, when speaking of the Volunteers of Belfast. “And can we forget you, ye generous volunteers of Belfast, who were among the first that sent your vows to heaven for our success.”—(*Northern Star*, April 7, 1792.)

March 12.—The election of a Knight of the Shire for the County of Antrim, in the room of Mr Rowley, (advanced to the peerage) took place at Carrickfergus, when no candidate appearing on the hustings in opposition to Edward Jones Agnew, the sheriff declared that gentleman duly elected. After the election, Mr Agnew (who had previously taken the test formerly approved of by the county,*) congratulated the free-

† See page, The third clause of the Test of 1790 is thus altered in the present one,—“A Bill for procuring an adequate representation of the people, and the abolishing of the rotten boroughs in this kingdom.”

holders on this fourth victory of the Independent interest." [alluding to the elections of 1776, 1783, 1790, and 1792.]

The Committee of the Independent Interest having accompanied Mr Agnew the ensuing day to Belfast, entertained him there at dinner, where a very respectable number of the inhabitants attended. The following toasts were given by Mr Agnew, beside a number of others by Mr Morris Jones, their chairman.—The Independent Interest of the County of Antrim, may it ever be as successful as it has been on the four last occasions.—May the principles of the Test of the County of Antrim become the law of the land. *By Mr M'Manus,* the test-taker,—A speedy abolition of the Slave Trade. This last toast, and General Washington, were drank with cheers.

BELFAST ROMAN CATHOLIC MEETING.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the Town of Belfast and its vicinity, held at Mr Hugh Dowell's, on the 6th of April, 1792 ;

Mr JAMES MOONEY, in the Chair.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the Declaration of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is strictly conformable with our principles as Christians and Catholics, agreeable to the tenets of the faith we have maintained, and that we will ever adhere to them.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we solemnly declare we have never harboured opinions inimical to the civil, religious, or political liberty of mankind ; particularly of our fellow-subjects of a different persuasion.

Resolved, unanimously.—That so far from entertaining the most distant thought of disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, by unsettling the landed property thereof, our highest ambition is to participate in the constitution of our country ; and we do most heartily concur in a solemn declaration, that we never will join in any attempt to overthrow the Protestant government of Ireland.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the General Catholic Committee, for their steady, manly, and constitutional proceedings, in their application to the legislature ; and we intreat they may persevere until their efforts be crowned with success.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the sincerest and most grateful thanks of this meeting be given to the virtuous and enlightened members of the

legislature, who supported with their unrivalled abilities, the petition of three millions of his Majesty's faithful subjects, in order to restore them to their long lost rights; and to obtain for them a participation in the scale of government, with the minority of their fellow-subjects.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the warmest thanks of this meeting be given to William Tedd Jones, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esqrs. for their laborious and unwearied exertions, to rescue the character of the unhappy Catholics from the aspersions of malevolent and bigotted partizans; and for their uniform tenor of conduct to restore the injured Catholic to the state that God and Nature designed him for.

Resolved, unanimously.—That “while memory holds her seat,” we shall never forget the glorious and philanthropic effort our fellow-citizens made on the 28th of January last, in being the first Protestant body in the kingdom who evinced that they felt for the sufferings of their Catholic brethren, by presenting a petition in their behalf to the legislature; and they are hereby requested to accept of the warm effusions of hearts overflowing with gratitude for the same.

JAMES MOONEY.

Mr Mooney having left the Chair, and Mr Heyland having taken it,

Resolved.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr Mooney for his praiseworthy conduct in the Chair.

CHARLES HEYLAND.

April, 2.—A detachment of the Belfast first volunteer company, with one of the company's field pieces, marched, at the request of the sheriff of the county, in order to aid him in taking possession of a house and farm, in the townland of Derrymore, and barony of Upper Massareene, which was forcibly withheld. After an hour spent in fruitless intreaties to prevail on the intruders to surrender the premises, the sheriff ordered the corps to fire upon the house. A hot action immediately commenced, and after a desperate resistance, in which the house was much shattered, the occupiers retired in the rear, and made their escape in different directions. The detachment returned to Lisburn on the same evening, having marched upwards of 32 miles, and arrived in Belfast without the slightest injury having happened to any individual.

April 19.—The principal Roman Catholics of Belfast and

its neighbourhood, with a select party, DINED together at Mr Hugh Dowell's: after dinner the following toasts were given.

Peace and Good Will to all Men.—The King.—The Prince of Wales and Royal Family.—Mr Paine, and the Rights of Man.—Mr Tandy, and the Rights of the Subject.—Mr Tone, and a Reform of Parliament.—Mr Kelburn, and the Majority of the Meeting at Belfast, on 28th January last.—Dr M'Kenna, and Civil and Religious Liberty to Mankind.—The Societies of United Irishmen, and an Union of Power.—General Washington, and the American States.—M. La Fayette, and the 14th July, 1789.—May the People know the true value of Kings.—[By the Rev. Hugh O'Donnell, *Parish Priest*,] Religion without Priestcraft!!! &c. &c.

POLISH REVOLUTION.

May 3.—The friends of the rights of men have determined to celebrate this new æra of liberty, by dining together on the day set apart by the king and people of Poland for the commemoration of their newly acquired constitution.—May such commemorations increase until the inhabitants of this country become impressed with a sense of their importance: may they become so numerous, and their effects so beneficial to mankind, as to supply the columns of our calendar with illustrious events, to the exclusion of *legendary saints* and *royal ruffians*, that now throng its pages.—*Northern Star*.

May 4.—The meeting in honour of the revolution of Poland, held here on Thursday, was very fully attended; the toasts were spirited, and expressive of those sentiments which the occasion naturally inspired.

A member of the Belfast first company (Blues, Captain William Brown,) on Monday last entertained the corps at dinner, in their elegant tent, which was pitched at Beechmount for the occasion.

June 15.—At a general meeting of the NORTHERN WHIG CLUB, held on the 15th June, 1792, (anniversary of Magna Charta,)

EDWARD JONES AGNEW, Esq. in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That we have observed with pleasure, the introduction and success of a Bill in the House of Commons of Great Britain, declaratory of the Power of Juries in matters of Libel.

That it is our ardent wish that a Bill for the same purpose may be carried through the two Houses of Legislature in Ireland, and become the law of this land.

That we highly admire Mr Fox, that steady friend to Civil and Religious Liberty, as the original mover in the British-House of Commons of a Bill so long wanted, to settle the intent of the law, by making its spirit and practice agree,—as well as Earl Camden, for the ability and consistency with which he supported it, in its progress through the House of Lords.

Admiring as we do the principles and structure of our constitution, we think it incumbent on us to express our ardent wish that it may soon be rendered as perfect *de facto*, as it is *de jure*; or in other words, that the people may speedily come to be fairly and equally represented in the Legislature of both kingdoms.

EDWARD JONES AGNEW, Chairman.

July 14, 1792.—BELFAST REVIEW,—AND CELEBRATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(*From the Belfast News Letter.*)

On Friday evening, the several country corps marched into town, and were billeted on the inhabitants; who were happy in renewing expressions of affection for their neighbours and friends in the fourteenth year since the commencement of reviews, and in the *sixteenth* of the Volunteer æra. Assemblies of smaller bodies than formerly, having been deemed best calculated to preserve at present the military spirit among the citizen-soldiery of Ireland, another review is to be held on Broughshane Moor on the first of August. The number of corps which would otherwise have attended at Belfast having been thus considerably reduced, it was not thought proper to

call on the venerable General of the volunteer army of Ulster, the Earl of Charlemont, to attend on this occasion; but the reviewing general who acted in his room, was requested by the committee to make a regular return to his Lordship of their numbers, state of discipline, &c. The gentleman appointed in his place was Colonel Sharman, of Moira Castle, who presided with such dignity last year in the civil assembly of the inhabitants of Belfast and its neighbourhood, at the celebration of the French Revolution. An unexpected illness having prevented that justly admired character from filling an office for which he was so eminently qualified, Major Crawford, of Crawford's-burn, was unanimously nominated to act as reviewing General: in testimony of the respect due to decided virtue in public and private life.

On Saturday morning a brigade was formed in High-street, extending from the bank to the Quay; and the whole were marched off to the old review ground in the Falls, at about eleven o'clock, by the Exercising Officer, Major M'Manus.

On their return to town at three o'clock, (immediately after the REVIEW,) there was a *Grand Procession*, the order of which is mentioned underneath, and *feu de joya* were fired in Linen-hall-street by the whole body, in honour of that day, which presented the sublime spectacle of near one sixth of the whole inhabitants of *Europe* bursting their chains, and throwing off, almost in an instant, the degrading yoke of slavery.

ORDER OF THE MILITARY AND CIVIL PROCESSION.

MAJOR CRAWFORD, GENERAL AND PRESIDENT FOR THE DAY.

Belfast Troop of Light Dragoons, Captain Thomas Brown,
Major M'Manus, *Exercising Officer*, and his *Aides-de-Camp*.

Artillery of the Belfast First Company (their number included in that of their corps undermentioned.)

The Colours of FIVE FREE NATIONS—VIZ.

IRELAND—motto, *Unite and be free.*

AMERICA—motto, *The Asylum of Liberty.*

FRANCE—motto, *The Nation, the Law, and the King.*

POLAND—motto, *We will support it.*

GREAT BRITAIN—motto, *Wisdom, Spirit, and Liberality to the People.*

A FLAG was prepared for the Dutch, (but no one could be found to bear it) who were to be represented by a piece of common woollen stuff, half holsted on a pole, and to be hooted by the populace; on account of the States having joined the wicked conspiracy of tyrants against the LIBERTIES of MAN—motto, "*Heaven's! how unlike their Belgian Sires of Old!*"

Portrait of DR FRANKLIN—motto, "*Where Liberty is, THERE is my Country.*"

Belfast First Company, Captain Cunningham,	102
Muckamore Fusileers, Captain Swan,	42
Larne, Captain Lieutenant Farrel,	40
Randalstown, Captain Dickey,	80
Moirs, Captain Bateman,	75
Dromore First Company, Captain Vaughan,	42
Villa Independents, Captain Hamilton,	30
Ballynahinch, Captain Armstrong,	104

Total number of First Brigade 538

Artillery of Belfast Blues (numbers included in those of their corps in Second Brigade.)

The GREAT STANDARD, elevated on a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, with two Volunteers as supporters, containing on one side of the canvass a representation of THE RELEASEMENT OF THE PRISONERS FROM THE BASTILE—motto, "*Sacred to Liberty.*"

The reverse contained a figure of Hibernia, one hand and foot in shackles; a Volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty—motto, "*For a People to be FREE, it is sufficient that they WILL IT.*"

Belfast Blues, Captain William Brown,	92
Downpatrick, Captain Hawthorne,	34
Dromore Light Infantry, Captain Bodle,	34
Carrickfergus, Captain Craig,	30
Broughshane, Captain Duffin,	62

Total number of Second Brigade	258
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[TOTAL NUMBER OF BOTH BRIGADES, 790.]

Portrait of Monsieur MIRABEAU—motto, "*Can the African Slave Trade, though MORALLY wrong, be POLITICALLY right?*"

A considerable number of inhabitants (180) from Carnmoney and Templepatrick, formed part of the procession, falling in at the rear of the Volunteer body. They bore a green flag, with the following mottoes, "*Our Gallic brother was born July 14, 1789; Alas! we are still in embryo.*"

Reverse—" *Superstitious jealousy, the cause of the Irish Bastile; let us unite and destroy it!*"

The whole moved forward in the order related, through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by such an immense multitude as never before appeared in this place. After the three *feu de joyes*, the body of volunteers and citizens entered the great square, within the Linen Hall, and having formed a circle, (elevated in the centre of which sat the president, Major Crawford,) Mr WILLIAM SINCLAIRE moved an Address to the National Assembly of France, inserted afterwards. After some deliberation, but without the slightest appearance of opposition, it was carried without a single dissentient voice; and with such energetic bursts of applause as declared that its principles had the sanction of every understanding, in an as-

sembly of about 1500, [according to the Belfast News Letter, or 5,000 according to the Star,] that thus beheld the triumph of human nature in the freedom of France. It may with great confidence be asserted, that in no spot in Europe has the French Revolution been celebrated with more splendour, seriousness, and feeling than in the town of Belfast, if we except the very country where that astonishing event took place.

The particular business of the day being thus happily disposed of, the former mover proposed an address to the People of Ireland (inserted underneath.) A long debate took place, which did not terminate till seven o'clock in the evening; turning upon a motion by Mr Joy, for expunging the paragraph which stands part of the address, and is inclosed in brackets, and inserting another in its room.

The issue of the debate was, that the motion for expunging was lost by a great majority, the dissentients being confined to a very small number; and that the address, as originally proposed, became the act of the assembled body.

The evening closed with an entertainment, at the Donegall Arms, where 104 persons sat down at dinner, when the General, who was also president of the day, announced the toasts prepared by a committee, of which the following is a copy.

The 14th of July, 1789.—The Constitution of France, may it be permanent.—The Constituting Assembly of France.—The National Assembly of France, may wisdom, spirit, and decision direct its counsels.—The French Army, may an ardent love of their country be held paramount to every other duty in the character of a soldier.—Confusion to the enemies of French Liberty.—May the glorious Revolution of France teach the governments of the earth wisdom.—May the example of one Revolution prevent the necessity of others.—Lasting

freedom and prosperity to the United States of America.—The people of Poland, and success to their arms.—The Rights of Man, may all nations have wisdom to understand, and spirit to assert them.—The Union of Irishmen, without which we can never be free.—The Sovereignty of the People, acting by a just and equal representation.—The Liberty of the Press.—The Volunteers of Ireland, and their revered general, Earl of Charlemont.—The constitutional societies of Great Britain and Ireland.—The society for the abolition of the Slave Trade.—President Washington.—Stanislaus Augustus, may his example be imitated.—Mr Paine, may perverted eloquence ever find so able an opposer.—Mr Fox, and the Rights of Juris, in substance as well as form.—Mr Grattan, and the minority of the Irish House of Commons.—The literary characters who have vindicated the Rights of Man, and may genius ever be employed in them.—May all Governments be those of the Laws, and all Laws those of the People.—May the free nations of the world vie with each other in promoting liberty, peace, virtue, and happiness among men.—The increased, increasing, and sacred Flame of Liberty.—IRELAND.—The cause of Freedom.—The Memory of John Locke.—The Memory of William Molyneux.—The Memory of Dr Franklin.—The Memory of Mirabeau.—The Memory of Dr Price.—The Memory of Mr Howard.

COPY OF THE ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

It is not from vanity or ostentation, that we, the citizens of Belfast, and citizen-soldiers of that town and neighbourhood, take the liberty of addressing the representative majesty of the French people. We address you with the rational respect due to a title elevated far above all servile and idolatrous adulation, and with that affectionate fraternity of heart which ought to unite man to man in a mutual and inseparable union of interests, of duties, and of rights, which ought to unite nation with nation into one great republic of the world.

On a day, sanctified as this has been, by a declaration of human rights, the germ of so much good to mankind, we meet with joy together, and wish well to France, to her national assembly, to her people, to her armies and to her king.

May you, legislators, maintain, by the indefatigable spirit of liberty, that constitution which was planned by the wisdom of your forefathers; and never may you weary in the work you have undertaken, until you can proclaim with triumphant security—it is finished! Manifest to an attentive and progressive world, that it is not the phrenzy of philosophy, nor the fever of wild and precarious liberty, which could produce such continued agitation; but that imperishable spirit of freedom alone, which always exists in the heart of man, which now animates the heart of Europe, and which, in the event, will communicate its energy throughout the world—invincible and immortal!

We rejoice in the sincerity of our souls, that this creative spirit animates the whole mass of mind in France. We auspicate happiness and glory to the human race from every great event which calls into activity the whole vigour of the whole community; amplifies so largely the field of enterprise, and gives free scope to the universal soul of the empire. We trust that you will never submit the liberties of France to any other guarantee, than God, and the right hands of the People.

The power that presumes to modify or to arbitrate with respect to a constitution adopted by the people, is an usurper and a despot, whether it be the meanest of the mob, or the ruler of empires; and if you condescend to negotiate the alteration of a comma in your constitutional code, France from that moment is a slave. Impudent despots of Europe! Is it not enough to crush human nature beneath your feet at home, that you thus come abroad to disturb the domestic settlement of the nations around you, and put in motion your armies, those enormous masses of human machinery, to beat down every attempt that man makes for his own happiness? It is high time to turn these dreadful engines against their inventors, and organized as they have hitherto been, for the misery of mankind, to make them now the instruments of its glory and its renovation.

Success, therefore, attend the Armies of France!

May your soldiers, with whom war is not a trade, but a duty, remember that they do not fight merely for themselves, but that they are the advance guard of the world; nor let them imagine that the event of the war is uncertain. A single battle may be precarious, not so a few campaigns.—There is an omnipotence in a righteous cause, which masters the pretended mutability of human affairs, and fixes the supposed inconsistency of fortune. If you will be free, you must; there is not a chance that one million of resolute men can be enslaved; no power on earth is

able to do it, and will the God of justice and of mercy ? Soldiers ! there is something that fights for you even in the hearts of your enemies. The native energies of humanity, rise up in voluntary array against tyrannical and preposterous prejudice, and all the little cabals of the heart, give way to the feelings of nature, of country, and of kind.

Freedom and prosperity to the people of France ! We think that such revolutions as they have accomplished, are so far from being out of the order of society, that they sprung inevitably from the nature of man and the progression of reason ; what is imperfect, he has the power to improve ; what he has created, he has a right to destroy. It is a rash opposition to the irresistible will of the public, that in some instances has maddened a disposition, otherwise mild and magnanimous, turned energy into ferocity, and the generous and gallant spirit of the French, into fury and vengeance. We trust that every effort they now make, every hardship they undergo, every drop of blood they shed, will render their constitution more dear to them.

Long life and happiness to the King of the French ! not the Lord of the soil and its servile appendages, but the King of men, who can reserve their rights, while they entrust their powers. In this crisis of his fate, may he withstand every attempt to estrange him from the nation ; to make him an exile in the midst of France, and to prevent him identifying himself as a magistrate with the constitution, and as a Frenchman with the people.

We beseech you all as men, as legislators, as citizens, and as soldiers in this your great conflict for liberty for France, and for the world, to despise all earthly danger, to look up to God, and to connect your councils your arms, and your empire to his throne, with a chain of union, fortitude, perseverance, morality, and religion.

We conclude, with this fervent prayer,—That as the Almighty is dispersing the political clouds which have hitherto darkened our hemisphere all nations may use the light of heaven ; that, as in this latter age, the Creator is unfolding in his creatures, powers which had long lain latent, they may exert them in the establishment of universal freedom, harmony and peace ; may those who are free, never be slaves ; may those who are slaves be speedily free.

(On the motion of Mr Thomson, the above was to be transmitted to the National Assembly.)

COPY OF THE ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

WE, the volunteers and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Belfast, assembled to commemorate this great day, embrace with earnestness the opportunity which it affords, at once to express our zeal and affection for the cause of liberty in France, and our undisguised opinions on subjects of the last importance to our native land.

Trained from our infancy in a love of freedom, and an abhorrence of tyranny, we congratulate our brethren of France and ourselves, that the infamous conspiracy of slaves and despots, against the happiness and glory of that admired and respected nation, and against the common rights of man, has hitherto proved abortive.

Fixing our view steadily on the great principle of Gallic emancipation, we will not be diverted from that magnificent object, by the accidental tumults or momentary ebullitions of popular fury. We will not estimate the wisdom of her legislators by the transports of a mob—nor the spirit of her armies by the cowardice of a regiment—nor the patriotism of her people by the treachery of individuals—nor the justice of her cause by the number of her enemies. We judge with other views and on other principles. We see with admiration, France extending the land-marks of human knowledge in the great art of government, and opening to the world new systems of policy and of justice. We see her renounce all wars on the principle of conquest. We see her propose an universal brotherhood and an eternal peace among the nations. We see her even now, when forced into arms and bloodshed, by the unjust and unprincipled machinations of her enemies, separating, as far as possible, the innocent subjects from the guilty despot; respecting, amidst the horrors of war, the property of individuals; and exempting from interruption the peaceful traffic of the merchant. It is from views like these, that we estimate that stupendous event, the Revolution, which we this day commemorate; not from accidental irregularities, which, while we condemn them, we are compelled to pity, as feeling that they spring not merely from a spirit of licentiousness, but from a sense of injury working on a sanguine people, still galled with the recollection of recent tyranny and oppression, and jealous of liberty, but just recovered, and scarcely yet secure.

Such are our sentiments on the subject of the French Revolution,—we come now to the state of our own country.

Impressed as we are with a deep sense of the excellence of our constitution, as it exists in *theory*, we rejoice that we are not, like our brethren in France, reduced to the hard necessity of tearing up inveterate abuse by the roots, even where utility was so intermixed as not to admit of separation.—Ours is an easier and a less unpleasing task; to remove with a steady and a temperate resolution, the abuses which the lapse of many years' inattention and supineness in the great body of the people, and unremitting vigilance in their rulers to invade and plunder them of their rights, have suffered them to overgrow and to deform that beautiful system of government, so admirably suited to our situation, our habits, and our wishes. We have not to innovate, but to restore. The just prerogatives of our Monarch we respect and will maintain. The constitutional power of the Peers of the realm we wish not to invade. We know that in the exercise of both, abuses have grown up;

but we also know that those abuses will be at once corrected, so as never again to recur, by restoring to us, the People, what we, for ourselves, demand as our right, our due weight and influence in that estate, which is our property, the Representation of the People in Parliament.

Thoroughly impressed with the unjust and ruinous inequality of that representation, with the consequent corruption which pervades all ranks in the state; with the destruction of the morals, the sacrifice of the commerce, and the hourly and imminent danger to the liberty of our country, we will inflexibly persevere in the pursuit of that great remedy for all our political evils—a Parliamentary Reform; a reform temperate, equal, and just; which shall restore lustre to the crown, dignity to the peerage, and their due weight and influence to the people of Ireland.

[But while we thus state our sentiments on the subject of reform, we feel it incumbent upon us to declare, as we now do, that no reform were even such attainable, would answer our ideas of utility or justice, which should not equally include all sects and denominations of Irishmen. We reprobate and abhor the idea, that political inequality should result from religious opinions; and we should be ashamed, at the moment when we are seeking for liberty ourselves, to acquiesce in any system founded on the slavery of others.]

We have now declared our sentiments to the world. In declaring them, we spurn with equal disdain—restraint, whether proceeding from a mob or a monarch, from a riot or a proclamation. We look with a mixture of abomination and contempt on the transactions which, on the last anniversary of the French Revolution, degraded the national character of England; when neither the learning, the piety, the public spirit, nor the private virtue of a PAISLEY, could protect him from the savage fury of the vilest of an ignorant and a bigotted rabble; before whom the religion of the country was dishonoured, the name of the sovereign insulted, and all law and order levelled in the dust; to the disgrace, not less of the integrity of the magistrates, who were the formers, than of the spirit of the people, who were timid witnesses of the ravage and destruction. As little should we respect any attempt, under colour of authority, to fetter down our minds, or prevent the publication of our grievances, and our determination to seek redress. In the pursuit of reform, that great measure, indispensable to the freedom, the happiness, and the glory of our country, we will inflexibly persevere; and for its attainment we rely with confidence on the steadiness, the public spirit, and the zealous co-operation of our countrymen.

It is sincerely hoped that this town will come forward in raising a sum in aid of the POLES, after the example of London. A nobler occasion never presented itself to the inhab-

bitants of these countries, who know the value of civil liberty, than the present glorious struggle of the king and people of Poland, against the cruel, unjust, and abominable interference of a foreign power. In consequence of the extreme poverty of that country, comparatively with its numbers (which are, we believe, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions,) the pecuniary aid that Great Britain and Ireland can extend, would be gratefully received; as they are deficient in their finances, and not in their numbers.—*Belfast News-Letter.*

At a Meeting of the First Belfast Volunteer Company, held at the Donegall-Arms, 7th September, 1792—Mr HUGH JOHNSON, in the Chair:

At this important crisis, which is likely to form a remarkable era in the history of man, when many of the European despots have combined to crush a great nation struggling for liberty;—At a period when the spirit of volunteering seems to revive in this neighbourhood, we hope it will not be deemed presumptive in us, who FIRST took up arms in the cause of our country, and who have never laid them down, nor slackened in our efforts to promote its prosperity, to declare the principles we hold, relative to the Volunteer Institution of Ireland; which we cannot do better than in the words of our own association, and in the following Resolutions of the Dungannon meetings of February 1782, and September 1783.

(Association of the First Belfast Volunteer Company.)

“We, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, having associated ourselves together, to learn the Military Discipline, for defence of ourselves, this Town, and Country, and the support of the RIGHTS OF IRELAND, under the Name of the FIRST BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY, do plight our faith, each to all, to be governed by the voice of the Majority in every case that may arise; that we will not withdraw from the Company from any other cause than

removal, or bodily indisposition; and that we will never accept of any wages or reward from Government as a Volunteer Company, or submit to take any military oath or obligation therefrom."

(*Dungannon Meeting, February 15, 1782.*)

Resolved.—That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

Resolved, therefore.—That as Men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Dungannon Meeting, September 8, 1783.

Resolved.—That Freedom is the indefeasible birthright of Irishmen and Britons, derived from the Author of their Being; and of which no power on earth, much less a delegated power, hath a right to deprive them.

Resolved.—That they only are free, who are governed by no laws but those to which they assent, either by themselves in person, or by their representatives freely chosen, subject to the controul, and frequently returning into the common mass of constituents.

Resolved.—That the majority of our House of Commons is not chosen by the People."

Resolved, unanimously.—That the foregoing association and resolutions form the basis of our creed as citizen-soldiers.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the foregoing resolutions passed at the Dungannon meetings—adopted by the whole Volunteer army, and by most of the counties in Ireland—we look upon as a standard, by which to judge who are, and who are not, volunteers upon principle:—And that we will not associate, or be reviewed with any, if any there be, who are formed on principles opposite thereto.

Resolved, unanimously.—That we will persevere in the pursuit of an adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament, without distinction on account of religious opinions.

Resolved, unanimously.—That venerating order, and abhorring licentiousness, we will be ever ready, as we have heretofore been, to support the magistrate in the execution of the law in this neighbourhood.

(Signed by order of the First Belfast Volunteer Company.)

HUGH JOHNSON, Chairman.

JOHN RABB, Secretary.

Resolutions nearly similar were entered into on the same day by the Belfast Volunteer Company, Captain Brown in the Chair; James McClean, Secretary.

September 19.—A review of the volunteers of Dromore and the neighbouring towns and villages, was held at Dromore, Colonel Sharman acting as reviewing general, and Captain George Douglass exercising officer. The Belfast Artillery, to the number of thirty-four commanded by Captain Brown, attended on the occasion.

About the commencement of October, the four societies of United Irishmen in this town, published declarations of their sentiments on the situation of Irish politics, in which they reprobate the opposition displayed by the Grand Juries of Ireland to the claims of the Roman Catholics, and strenuously exhort the latter to persist in their demands till their exertions be crowned with success.

October 30.—The two Volunteer Artillery Companies and the two Infantry Corps, assembled about two o'clock and fired three *feu-de-joyes*, in honour of the day on which a Duke and a King, at the head of an armed host, ingloriously deserted the field; after a campaign which, both in point of design and execution, was as disgraceful to the arms of Austria and Prussia, as its object was detestable and unjust.*

In the evening a numerous meeting was held at the Donegall Arms, consisting of Volunteer citizens and citizens unarmed, in pursuance of an advertisement requesting an assembly of the inhabitants; when the following declaration was unanimously agreed to—

Mr SAM. M'TIER, in the Chair.

We the inhabitants of Belfast, with hearts overflowing with joy, again assemble together, publicly to declare our happiness at the glorious success of the French arms, against innumerable hosts of enemies—the enemies of the human race—and their final expulsion from the

* On the first of October, the Austrian and Prussian armies were reduced to the humiliating necessity of making a precipitate retreat from the territory of the French Republic, which they had triumphantly invaded for the purpose of forcing on that nation, the detested despotism of the Bourbon race, which they had so lately abjured.—(Editor.)

Gallie territories ; an event by which every obstacle to the complete establishment of civil and religious liberty, is removed from that hallowed land—an event which secures liberty to surrounding nations.

Sanguine as our opinions were of the invincible power of a nation of Freemen, opposed to the armed slaves of tyrants ; yet the event has surpassed our fondest expectations.

When we contemplate the treachery of the executive power, the perfidy of officers, the disorganised state of the army ; when we consider the combination of formidable enemies, with generals of the first military abilities at the head of veteran troops, yet observe, that these armies have not been capable of achieving a single important object, credibility is almost staggered, but the world has witnessed it. We cannot help attributing the success of the French arms to the signal interposition of the Deity, as an example of the success with which he will crown the efforts of mankind, in every attempt to establish civil and religious liberty ; and we implore the influence of the Divine spirit, to guide the councils of the National Convention in perfecting the great work in which they are engaged, so as to render it productive of happiness to millions yet unborn.

The town was almost universally illuminated. Every thing demonstrated sincere pleasure in the disgrace of two tyrannical courts, that attempted to dragoon a united nation into that deplorable state of *spiritual* as well as *political* bondage from which it was just recovering ; and that dare tell twenty-five millions of men—YE SHALL NOT BE FREE.

In the windows of six or seven houses a number of transparencies presented themselves :—a few of the mottos are subjoined, as trifling circumstances sometimes mark the disposition of the times.

Perfect union and equal liberty to the men of Ireland.—Vive la Republique ; Vive la Nation.—Church and State Divorced.—Liberty Triumphant.—The Rights of Men established.—Despotism prostrate.—The Tyrants are fled ; let the people rejoice.—Heaven beheld their glorious efforts, and crown'd their deeds with success.—France is free ; so may we ; let us will it.—Awake O ye that sleep.—A gallows suspending an inverted Crown, with these words : “ May the fate of every Tyrant be that of Capet.”—A check to despots.—The

Cause of mankind triumphant.—Irishmen rejoice.—Union among Irishmen.—Rights of Man.—Irishmen ! look at France.—Liberty and Equality:

IRELAND.—8th September 1783.—Armed Citizens spoke. 2d December 1783.—Their Delegates ran away.—30th October 1792.—We are taxed, tyth'd, and enslaved, but we have only to unite and be free.

FRANCE.—14th July, 1789.—Sacred to Liberty.—10th, August, 1792.—The People triumphant.—22d October 1792.—Exit of Tyranny.

The night closed in the most orderly manner, without either bonfire or any kind of irregularity whatever.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

NORTHERN WHIG CLUB.

Nov. 5.—At a general meeting and dinner, on the 5th of November, held pursuant to notice, (in order to celebrate the Birth-day of our glorious deliverer, King William.)

ARCH. HAMILTON ROWAN, Esq. in the Chair :

Resolved.—That it is with the greatest satisfaction we embrace this opportunity to congratulate our country on the late ignominious flight of the enemies to liberty, from the territory of the French Republic; and to express our hopes, that the present disturbances in that country may speedily terminate in the stable tranquillity of a good Government, founded on the principles of equal liberty, and the unalienable rights of man.—(*Unanimously.*)

Resolved.—That an early acquiescence in the just demands of the people is the surest pledge of peace and tranquillity in any country, we trust we shall speedily see the wishes of this nation complied with, by an honest and effectual reform in the representation of the people, on a broad principle of equal justice and equal liberty to all sects and denominations of Irishmen; satisfied as we are that a sincere union among ourselves, and a total oblivion of past dissensions, from whatever cause arising, can alone secure to this country, freedom, happiness, and prosperity.—(*One dissentient.*)

Resolved.—That we see with the greatest satisfaction the rapid decay of prejudice and bigotry in the part of the country most immediately within our observation; and we anticipate with pleasure the day of their total downfall.—(*Unanimously.*)

WILLIAM SINCLAIRE, Secretary.

BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY (BLUE.)

November 24.—At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company (Blue,) at the Exchange, November 24, 1792,

LIEUT. GETTY, in the Chair:

[The packets having this day brought the glorious intelligence, of the French having obtained the possession of Brussels, the capital of the Austrian Netherlands; and thereby having virtually completed the liberation of the Belgic people.]

The company unanimously agreed to publish the following declaration of their sentiments, upon that great event:—

Again has Liberty triumphed—again have her sons conquered—and again we rejoice. We rejoice that another great country is free—and therein Belgia, we are now able to recognise a nation of Freemen.

We congratulate our countrymen on the good news; and we hail it as a certain pledge and forerunner of that reform in parliament, which will procure to the people their due weight in the legislature of this country. Already corruption trembles—and, ere long, at the united voice of the people, she must depart the land. Now is the time for Irishmen to banish prejudice, and to embrace each other as brethren—the children of the same God. Forgetting past errors, let them strive in future to promote the happiness of every religious sect and denomination; and their country must be free and flourishing.

JAMES McCLEAN, Secretary.

Answer of the President of the French Assembly (Citizen Gregoire,) to the Addresses of the Societies of Sheffield, and Belfast in Ireland.

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD.—Your Addresses to the representatives of the French nation, have filled them with pleasing emotions.—In imposing on me the honourable duty of a reply, they make me regret that I can but imperfectly express what all with so much energy feel. To have the honour to be an English or a Frenchman, carries with it a title to every degree of mutual affection that can subsist among men.

The curious in your country are pleased to traverse the globe in order

explore nature ; henceforth they can visit Montblanc (Savoy,) without quitting France ; in other words—without leaving their friends. The day on which free Savoy unites itself with us, and that on which children of high minded England appears among us, are, in the eye of reason, days of triumph. Nothing is wanting in these affecting scenes, but the presence of all Great Britain, to bear testimony to the enthusiasm with which we are inspired by the name of liberty, and that of the people with whom we are about to form eternal alliance.

The National Convention has wished to testify its satisfaction to the English, in decreeing that they would conduct in the presence of some of them the trial of the last of their kings. Sixty ages have elapsed since kings first made war on liberty ; the most miserable pretexts have been sufficient for them to spread trouble over the earth. Let us recollect with horror, that under the reign of Ann—the falling of a pair of gloves, and under Louis XIV—a window opening from one apartment into another, were sufficient causes for deluging Europe in blood.

Alas ! short is the duration prescribed by Eternal Power to our weak existence ; and shall then the ferocious ambition of some individuals embitter or abridge our days with impunity ? Yet a little moment, and despots and their cannons shall be silenced ; philosophy denounces them at the bar of the universe ; and history, sullied with their crimes, has drawn their characters. Shortly the annals of mankind will be those of virtue ; and in the records of France a place will be reserved for our testimonies of fraternity with the British and Irish societies, but especially for the Constitutional Society of London.

Doubtless, the new year, which is now approaching, will see all your rights restored. The meeting of your parliament attracts our attention. We hope then philosophy will thunder by the mouth of eloquence, and that the English will substitute the great charter of Nature in place of the great charter of King John.

The principles upon which our own republic has been founded, have been discovered by the celebrated writers of your nation ; we have taken possession of their discoveries in the social art, because, truths revealed to the world are the property of all mankind. A people which has brought reason to maturity, will not be content with liberty by halves ; it will doubtless refuse to capitulate with despotism.

Generous Britons ! let us associate for the happiness of the human race ; let us destroy every prejudice ; let us cause useful knowledge to filter through every branch of the social tree ; let us inspire our equals with a sense of their dignity ; let us teach them above all, that vices are the inseparable companions of slavery ; and let us depend upon it, that our efforts will be favoured by the God of liberty, who weighs the destiny of empires, and holds in his hands the fate of nations.

December 12.—At 9 o'clock this morning, the delegates from the Catholics of Ireland, who were elected to present their petition to the King, arrived at the Donegall-Arms, on their way (by Portpatrick) to London. Immediately on their arrival being known, a number of respectable inhabitants waited on, and breakfasted with them. They remained here about two hours; and on their departure, the populace, who had assembled in the interim, took the horses from the coach, and having fastened ropes to it, dragged them throughout the town, quite over the Long-Bridge on the road to Donaghadee, and then permitted the horses to be put to, amidst the loudest huzzas of "Success attend you," "Union," "Equal Laws," and "Down with the ascendancy." The delegates politely returned thanks for this strong mark of affection, declared their determination to maintain that Union which formed the strength of Ireland; and proceeded on their way, accompanied by three cheers.—(*Northern Star.*)

IRISH JACOBINS OF BELFAST.

At a meeting of the IRISH JACOBINS of Belfast, the 12th inst.

Mr ROWLEY OSBORNE, Jun. in the Chair.

The following DECLARATION and ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published:—

DECLARATION.

1. *Resolved*,—That this Kingdom has no National Government, in as much as the Great Mass of the People are not represented in Parliament.

2. *Resolved*,—That the People of Ireland, of every Religious description, have an inherent and indefeasible right from God and nature, to constitute laws for their internal and external welfare.

3. *Resolved*,—That the People of Ireland can never effectually constitute their own Laws, without an extension of the Elective Franchise to all its Citizens.

4. *Resolved*,—That the Elective Franchise can never be obtained without a cordial, steady, and perpetuating Union of all the Irish People of every denomination.

5. *Resolved*,—That the Penal Code of Statutes, which have for upwards of a century, doomed our fellow-citizens, the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, to a state little superior to the unlettered African, is a disgrace to the land we live in.

6. *Resolved*,—That as irreligious prejudices have given, and are giving way in every quarter of the globe, the justice of God, and the natural rights of man, demand of Ireland, *Not to be the last in the annals of Freedom.*

7. *Resolved*,—That to obtain this most desirable end, we entreat our Fellow-Citizens of every denomination, in Ireland, England, and Scotland, to turn their thoughts to a NATIONAL CONVENTION, in order to collect the sense of the People, as to the most effective means of obtaining a radical and complete Parliamentary Reform—an object without which, these kingdoms must for ever remain wretched; and the attainment of which will raise them to a state of Freedom, Happiness, and Glory.

8. *Resolved*,—That impressed with these sentiments, we have determined to form an Association, for the purpose of uniting ourselves with our countrymen, and of disseminating these principles among them; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, that we will individually and collectively exert every means in our power, to carry the same into effect.

ADDRESS.

THE IRISH JACOBINS OF BELFAST, TO THE PUBLIC.

At this decisive crisis, when it becomes the duty of every individual to step forward and avow his principles, we deem it incumbent on us to explain to our Fellow-Citizens, our Country, and the World at large, the motives and intentions of our Association.

The first thing that struck us was—the manifold grievances the majority of this land (which has falsely been denominated *free*) labour under, from the *irreligious* distinctions our *present* constitution has imposed on the major part of its inhabitants.—According to our ideas, a constitution is nothing else than a fixed and established order in the manner of governing; this order cannot exist, if it be not upheld by fundamental rules, enacted by the free and formal consent of the whole Nation, or of those it has chosen for its representatives; thus, a constitution is a precise and constant form of government—or it is the expression of the rights and obligations of the different powers which compose it.

Where the mode of Government is not derived from all the People, clearly expressed, that nation has no constitution.—Need we say this is the case with Ireland? It possesses only an acting Government, which varies according to circumstances, and which gives way to all events. In such a Government, the supreme Authority has more power to oppress

the subject, than to defend his Rights. It ever has been an acknowledged Constitutional Principle, that Irishmen cannot be taxed, but with their own consent, how absurd and false the assertion? for out of Four Millions of People, Ninty Individuals actually return the majority of the House of Commons; who, instead of representing the voice of the nation, are influenced by English interests, and that Aristocracy, whose baneful exertions have ever tended to sap the vital principles, the rising greatness, and native genius of this unhappy country; shall we then profane the sacred name of Liberty, by calling this a Land of freedom? the question answers itself. It may be asked by some, do we not at present enjoy civil liberty; or where is the period in our history in which we enjoy more? We answer, that we do not at present, enjoy **REAL SUBSTANTIAL** Liberty; neither is there a period in our History from which we would wish to date its æra. The present momentous period, is the time we would wish to date it from, when the great bulk of the people begin to know their Rights, and to feel their Wrongs.—By unanimity and perseverance, this divided Land will be liberated from the shackles of Tyranny.

Yet we do not desire a tempestuous Liberty—we desire not a Liberty without rule, which places an arbitrary Authority in the hands of the Multitude, disposes it to Error, to Precipitation, leads to Anarchy—and has Despotism always in its train, ready to seize its prey.

Even those who maintain that we have a Constitution, acknowledge that it is necessary to restore it to its pristine State; the thing desired is a happy and free Constitution, the object of our Association—and when we renounce this object, may the Disposer of Events, and our Country, renounce us.

There is no evil so great, which the possession of Liberty we trust, will not make us support, nor is there any advantages that will compensate for its loss.—Let us seize then this auspicious moment; let us hasten to procure, by our individual and collective exertions, this benefit for our Country.—Where Liberty is once fixed, good laws will present themselves of Course. It is by procuring a renovated Representation, that Liberty will be established in this Country.—This can only be accomplished by A NATIONAL CONVENTION. .

The ROMAN CATHOLICS are already convened, let the PROTESTANTS follow their peaceable example—*then* and not till *then*—the Voice of an indignant Nation will, and must be heard, “*For a People to be free it is sufficient that they will it.*”

Our undisguised sentiments are now before the tribunal of our country, we submit them with cheerfulness—and if all good citizens be satisfied with them, there can be no doubt, but similar associations will be formed in every corner of the Nation.

Finally, may all Irishmen contract between themselves and their country, an alliance, equal, firm, and eternal. +—(*Northern Star*.)

S. KENNEDY, Secretary.

December 14.—The Belfast Volunteer Company (Blue,) agreed to adopt a cheap uniform, instead of their present expensive one, in order to facilitate the admission of new members ~~at this serious crisis.~~—(*Northern Star*.)

December 17.—At a Meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Company, Monday, 17th December, 1792.—LIEUTENANT GATTY in the Chair, the following Address was unanimously agreed to—To the Volunteers of Ireland,

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—We are induced to address you on the present occasion, with an exposition of our sentiments, in consequence of the late Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of this kingdom, against the assembling of certain new volunteer associations in the county and city of Dublin; and we shall be very happy, indeed if our sentiments shall meet your approbation, which will be best known by the resolutions which the said proclamation is likely to draw from other associated corps, like ourselves.

Whether the peace of the country is intended by this proclamation, we shall not pretend to say—we are however more confident in believing that its aim is to divide; and the forced compliment paid to more ancient associations, in contra-distinction to those now forming, against which this proclamation is levelled, leaves us on this head little room to doubt.

We do not suppose it possible, however, that this effect will be pro-

* The strong symptoms of treason betrayed in the above *Declaration and Address* must be evident to every reader. The country is declared, in the most open and explicit manner, to possess "No National Government," and "every means," legal or illegal, are declared necessary to be exerted, in order to the formation of a new system of things. The audacity of these agitators is also strongly marked by their assumption of the hideous appellation of *Jacobins*, which, as the Attorney General observed, "carries a libel in the sound."—For an account of the trial of the proprietors of the *Northern Star* in consequence of an information filed ex-officio for this publication, See May 28, 1794.—The Volunteers now began to assume a greater degree of activity, new members were enrolled, the appellation of National Guards, in imitation of the French, was adopted, and the overthrow of the present government, and the establishment of a republic independent of England eagerly anticipated.—(*Editor*.)

duced; our country has been too long divided by trifles, and is now too sensible of the rising consequence of its people, by the unity which pervades all ranks, to fear such an event. We all look forward to the same common object of political liberty, and we know too well by sad experience, that it is not by divisions we are to accomplish our purpose.

PHILANTHROPY, the offspring of Charity and Benevolence, is shedding over us its influence, like the best of blessings, and mankind, becoming wise, are determined to be free.

We originally took up arms for our defence against foreign invasion, and we have continued in the use of them, because we consider it a means of producing internal tranquillity.

We have always, when called on, given our assistance to the magistracy of our country, in the due execution of the laws. In a word, we esteem it proper that citizens should know the use of arms, and we consider that country in the best state of defence, when the people are strong. The same force which was ready to defend the country against the attempts of foreign force, we hope, will be ever found equally ready to assert domestic quiet, and the common rights of all the people of Ireland.

We consider for ourselves, that it is the unalienable right of all the people of Ireland to carry arms, and in confirmation of the said opinion, this Company has always been open to the admission of men of every religion; and the experience of many years proves to our knowledge, that a man's sentiments in this respect is no test of his ability, because we have found the same address, and the same good behaviour in our brother soldiers professing to be Roman Catholics, as in those of any other religion.

Impressed with these sentiments, and highly sensible of the great and useful consequences which may result from the people embodying themselves for the purpose of learning the use of arms: We hail as brothers our fellow-citizens, entering into associations like our own, for the welfare, prosperity, and emancipation of their country; under whatever name, or of whatever religion; and we will cultivate with them one common interest. We declare for ourselves, that the freedom of our country is our only object, and if we are asked, what are our views and our wishes—without hesitation we answer—We want the renovation of the constitution; and to those people who are pleased to call all public virtue treason, and all improvement, innovation, we reply—That an effectual and adequate reform in the representation of the people in parliament, is our only object, in the pursuit of which object we shall never slacken our efforts.

If bad advisers, or weak and wicked men, shall force the people into extremity, on them let all the miseries fall of civil convulsion.

The people demand that share of the constitution which its spirit warrants, and in the pursuit they are justified. We are now united, let us persevere, and success will crown our endeavours.

JAMES M'CLEAN, Secretary.

FIRST BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

At a Meeting of the First Belfast Volunteer Company, December, 1792, WILLIAM TENNENT, in the Chair, the following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To the Volunteers of Ireland.

FELLOW SOLDIERS,

YOUR country is in danger! the period of a few fleeting months has scarcely elapsed, since the First Belfast Volunteer Company, impressed with the interesting situation of this island, and the extraordinary increase of its armed Citizens, did publish to the world, ANEW, their sentiments concerning the Volunteer Institution—a dignified and most honourable Institution, in whose lists should be found the names of ALL the virtuous Inhabitants of Ireland. We, who in the hour of danger, and in the face of the enemy, took up arms in defence of our country, when left to its own energy, by an abandoned and imbecile administration: We, who have received the unanimous thanks of every branch of the legislature, did not imagine, that the arm of power would ever be uplifted in this land, to suppress the revival of our *laudable* associations.

When the right of the people to appear in arms is called in question, by a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and privy council of Ireland; when the exercise of this right is branded with the epithets *illegal* and *seditious*; when menacing preparations by land and sea indicate the near approach of war; and when false and malicious reports are industriously circulated, with a view of spreading jealousies and discontents; we call upon you to be FIRM!—to PERSEVERE!—to UNITE!

The union of the people now makes despots tremble in foreign lands. It is to UNION Ireland must owe its salvation; the want of union, ten years back, rendered abortive all your efforts for emancipation.

Our fellow-soldiers of Dublin are charged with assembling "to withstand lawful authority, and violently and forcibly to redress pretended grievances." What ! are the grievances of which the people complain, only "*pretended ones*?" Is seeking a restoration of our rights—a reform in the representation of the people in parliament, an attempt to subvert the constitution ?—We say no ! It is to restore it.

Under these circumstances, we esteem it our duty to make a farther declaration of our principles and opinions :

We associated for the defence of ourselves, this town, and country, and the support of the Rights of Ireland. We say, that it is the right of the people to be represented in Parliament—taxation, with out representation, is *oppression*. That the people are NOT represented—that parliament is NOT what it ought to be, an emanation from the people—that the grievances under which the people labour are almost innumerable and intolerable ; but we add, that a real and radical reform in the representative branch of the legislature would restore the people to their due weight in the government of the country, and every lesser evil would quickly vanish.

These are our opinions ; neither proclamations nor threats shall deter us from the pursuit of our rights. Our desire is peace: the welfare of our country, of our families, of our friends, require it of us. Let those who, by resisting the united voice of a nation, drive the people into extremities, be alone answerable to God and their country, for the consequences.

Fellow-soldiers—UNITE !—increase your numbers, and improve your discipline ! A people aspiring to be FREE, should be able to protect LIBERTY. An armed nation can never be made slaves.—PERSEVERE ! and our country must be SAVED !

(*Northern Star.*)

WILLIAM TENNENT, Chairman.
JOHN RABB, Secretary.

December 22, 1792.—The Collector of this port purchased a quantity of Gunpowder at a very advanced price, from a merchant who was importing it. As the Collector does not actually deal in merchandize of any kind, there is reason to suppose that this has been done by order of government, and of course the statement of the First Belfast Company, "that the Country is in danger," is fully warranted.—*Northern Star*.

TOWN MEETING.

December 26.—A general meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast was this day held in Mr Vance's Meeting-House, for the purpose of "expressing their sentiments on the present state of public affairs; and to enter into such other measures as may be deemed expedient for the accomplishing that great object, an equal Representation of the People in Parliament." Charles Ranken, Esq. of Richmond Lodge, being called to the Chair, the business was opened by Mr Robert Thomson. After dwelling particularly on the words Liberty and Equality, and shewing how miserably these terms had been abused to the worst of purposes, he declared that "he had preferred our government to every other, with an improved representation, but without it, any other was as good. Impressed with such ideas, he moved a declaration, which was seconded by William Sinclair, and carried. Mr Robert Getty said, that a Reform in Parliament was the utmost bound of his wishes, and urged with ability the wisdom of rallying round one point, round the Constitution. Mr James Munfod recommended "the strong and able men of the community," to come forward and enrol themselves among their armed brethren, and those who were in an advanced state of life to contribute to the cause in a pecuniary way, for the purpose of purchasing arms, ammunition, and accoutrements.—

"The cause, he declared, required the *union* and *force* of the whole people." Rev. S. Kelburne said, "he did not prefer our much boasted constitution, he did not know whether there was really any such thing, he could not approve of hereditary legislation (in the House of Lords,) because wisdom is not hereditary,—yet he concurred in the present declaration, and preferred a *Reformed* parliament, though he might esteem another government more perfect."

DECLARATION.

At a period when the public mind is so much agitated ; when the nation seems to be in a state of smothered war ; we deem it the duty of every man who is a friend to his country, to peace, and good order, to come forward and publicly avow his sentiments. -

We, therefore, declare, that after all we have heard and read about our glorious and happy constitution, we are so ignorant as not to be able to find what it is. We cannot, however, conceive, that if in any nation three-fourths of the inhabitants are absolutely excluded from all share in the legislature and only a very small part of the other fourth represented ; if the great majority, of what are called representatives, be appointed arbitrary, by a few individuals, for a long term of years, and not accountable to the people ; if places and pensions be multiplied for the purposes of corruption ; if no responsibility be annexed to the great offices of state ; if taxes without end be levied off the people, and the nation involved in debt, for the purpose of purchasing votes to impose more taxes ; if the honours of the peerage be brought to sale to raise funds for the same purposes ; if the surplus of the revenue, instead of being applied to lessen the national debt, be carried to another country, whether to bribe the representatives of the people there, or to pay German *butchers* for massacring the friends of freedom in France ; if the subject be deprived of trial by jury, whether by penal statutes, by *revenue*, or *game laws*, by *fiats*, or by *attachments* : We say, if any nation labours under those and innumerable other grievances, practised under colour of law ; we are yet to learn what is the *glorious* and *happy* constitution of that nation ; We do not hesitate to say—*they are a nation of Slaves !*

We declare, that a government by King, Lords, and Commons, the Commons being a real representation of all the people, is the government which, if attainable without violence, we wish for and prefer : that we do not wish for a revolution, deeming it the last measure of dire necessity ; a measure to which no wise or good man would resort until every other means had been tried in vain ; and being convinced

that our present form of Government, however defective, possesses the power, if it had the will, of reforming all abuses and remedying all defects without violence or commotion, and that such reform must take place whenever the united voice of the people shall call for it.

And we further declare our opinion, that if any persons in this kingdom be endeavouring to promote a revolution, it can only be those, who determined to preserve till the last moment their system of corruption, their borough influence, their places, and their pensions, pertinaciously oppose every attempt towards a reform, thereby doing their utmost to produce public commotion and overthrow the government, by driving the nation to despair. Infatuated mortals! wilfully and wickedly blind to future consequences! and of whom it may be justly said,—*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*—Whom God determines to destroy, he first makes mad.

We declare, that a radical reform in the representation of the people has long been, and still is, the great object to which all our wishes, all our endeavours tend, the object which we have pursued, and which we shall never cease to pursue until it is attained; that to attain it we shall think no sacrifice too much, no risk too great; and that no reform can ever be adequate or useful, satisfactory or just, unless ~~ALL~~ ^{ALL} ~~RAISEMEN~~, of every description, shall be equally and fairly represented.

Resolved,—That, with the utmost deference for our countrymen in general, we would most respectfully suggest the propriety of county meetings and of Provincial Conventions, by delegations from parishes, cities, and great towns; a measure by which the united voice of all the men of Ireland would be drawn to a focus, all wild ideas exploded, a permanent chain of national communication formed, and the important business of the kingdom conducted with that dignity and energy which become a great nation, peaceably, but firmly demanding their rights.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-one be now appointed, with full powers to correspond, in our name, with our fellow citizens in all parts of this country, in all parts of this province, and in all parts of the other provinces; and in concert with them to pursue such measures as shall be deemed expedient for procuring such meetings and conventions,—that said committee have full power, (when they shall deem the time proper) to call, in our name, a general meeting of the inhabitants of this parish, to appoint delegates to such meeting and convention, and also to call us together for the same purpose.

Resolved.—That C. Ranken, Robert Thomson, John Holmes, James Holmes, Doctor White, James Ferguson, William Sinclair, Samuel Neilson, Rev. S. Kelburne, Rev. P. Vance, Hugh Montgomery, Henry Haslett, Robert Getty, Samuel M'Tier, William Tennent, Robert Sissons, Dr. M'Donnell, George Joy, Hugh Crawford, Samuel Brown,

John Boyle, be, and they hereby are, appointed a committee, for the above purposes.

Resolved.—That our warmest thanks are justly due to the volunteers of Ireland—to the old associations, and to the new corps formed and forming:—Soldiers of Liberty! we thank you.—Be Firm!—increase your numbers—perfect your discipline—despite the salinations of placed and pensioned courtiers, and of gussling corporations. Great is your merit! You preserved internal peace—you aided and supported the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws—Unite and Persevere You saved your country from foreign invasion, and rescued her from foreign legislation—and should a contest for liberty ever become necessary, (which God avert) we trust you will rescue her from internal oppression.

Resolved.—That a voluntary contribution be received from the inhabitants of this town, who, from age, infirmity, or other causes, are prevented from enrolling themselves among the volunteers, for the purpose of creating a *military fund*, to supply with ammunition, and other necessities, the volunteers already embodied and embodying in Belfast; and that the committee this day appointed be requested to take the trouble of receiving the same.

And with great deference to our countrymen, we beg leave to recommend the adoption of a similar measure.

CHARLES RANKEN, Chairman.

Mr Ranken having left the Chair, Mr William Sinclair was unanimously called to it; and it was then resolved—that the unanimous thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his readiness in taking the chair, and for the strict propriety of his conduct in it.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR; Chairman.

SAMUEL NEILSON, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Battalion (Blue,) 29th December, 1792:—

ROBERT GETTY in the Chair;

The following Address to the United Irishmen of Dublin, was unanimously agreed to,

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN.—Accept of our sincere thanks for your animating Address to the Volunteers of Ireland. As a part of that body permit us to assure you, that we are ready to protect our “country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external hostility; and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police, or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace, by a vigilant preparation for war.”

Your country is much indebted to you, for your zealous efforts to revive that latent spirit which has too long slumbered in the breasts of Irishmen ; on the efforts of the people, the freedom of Ireland depends,

Go on ! generous countrymen ; continue your efforts for the good of the whole community. Though envy may detract, though corruption may calumniate, and though the hand of power may be raised against you, yet success will crown your labours, for the people are with you, and will second your patriotic exertions.

ROBERT GETTY, Chairman.

JAMES M'CLEAN, Secretary.

BELFAST BATTALION (BLUE.)

At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteer Battalion (Blue,) at the Donegall-Arms, December 31, 1792,

ALEXANDER WATT, in the Chair:—

Resolved.—That the following persons be the *Recruiting* Committee for the Battalion, to whom those who wish to become members will please apply :

William Sinolaire,	James Pinkerton,	Samuel M'Murray,
Robert Getty,	William Simms,	Alex. Cranston,
Alex. Williamson,	William Johnston,	Samuel Beck,
Robert Simms,	George Warnock,	Alexander Watt,
Robert Orr,	John Haslett,	Samuel Gibsons,
Robert Major,	James Munfoad,	Jas. M'CLean, Sec.

N. B. The uniform of the battalion to be seen at Mr Cuthbert's, Tailor.

1793.—The *Vignette* with which the first page of the Northern Star had hitherto been ornamented, received in the commencement of this year an important and ominous alteration, a *Star* being substituted in the place of the *Crown* over the Irish Harp. The motto however continued still the same, *The Public Will our Guide ; The Public Good our End.*"

NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS

Jan. 6.—At a meeting of the first Belfast Regiment of National Volunteers at the Brown-linen Hall, on Sunday last, they finally and unanimously determined on their uniform,

which consists of a green jacket, faced with yellow, green waistcoat, white breeches, long black gaiters, and a leather cap. It already consists of between 3 and 400 members; and it is thought by the first of February it will be augmented to 500 effective men.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

On Monday last (Jan. 7,) NINE of the Proprietors of this paper entered into a recognizance before Lord Clonmel, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at his own house in Dublin, for their appearance when the trial relative to a certain publication in the STAR of the 5th ult should come on—themselves being bound in £100 each, with two sureties, (for the whole) in £50 each. They were attended from their lodging in Capel Street, to his Lordship's house in Harcourt Street, by a number of the most respectable citizens of Dublin, who invited them to dinner the same day.

Lord Clonmel was pleased highly to compliment the Proprietors on their conduct, in complying strictly with the law, and lamented that the necessary steps had not been taken to have the business settled in Belfast.

On being requested to point out what were the offensive publications in the paper alluded to—his Lordship replied, that he had not the paper by him, nor did he exactly recollect at present, but he believed it was one which tended to rouse the people to arms; the Crown Solicitor said, he believed it was one relative to tythes.

The remaining proprietors set off for Dublin yesterday morning, and are to give in bail this day.—(*Northern Star.*)

Jan. 7.—A very numerous and respectable body of the citizens of Dublin, entertained the Proprietors of the *Northern Star* at dinner, at the Star and Garter Tavern, Essex Street, —A. H. Rowan, in the chair. Randal M'Donnell, Coupier.

Yesterday morning, Captain Barber's company of the royal Irish regiment of artillery, with three field pieces, and two

waggons loaded with ammunition, marched from their temporary barrack in the castle-yard; for Drogheda, and Belfast. Captain Barber's head quarters are to be at Drogheda, and Captain Lieutenant Bouchier and Lieutenant George are to proceed to Belfast.—*Hib. Journal.*

On Monday last (January 7,) a detachment of the royal Irish artillery set off from Dublin for the north, it is supposed for Belfast. One of them on being asked where they were going to, replied, that he believed they were going to HELL.—How miserably has this town been misrepresented—how basely calumniated!!!—*Northern Star.*

THE FRIENDS OF A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

An association is formed in this town, under the name of the FRIENDS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, whose declaration and principles are incontestible proof that there is not, perhaps, in the whole of this populous place, a single dissentient voice on the subject of a reform of the representative part of the constitution. Their declaration and principles adhere chiefly to that grand point, which, if once attained, every thing that can be wished, or should be desired, must be the inevitable consequence; as our government would then be in *practice* what it is now in *theory*—the most enviable on earth. In the present stage of matters, when people of every rank and description are pressing forward in the great cause, it behoves governors to attend to the just complaints of Ireland; for it is the interest of all that every grievance should meet speedy and effectual redress. In 1783, and 1784, dissentients were to be found; now we know of none.—The admission of Catholics to their right of *elective franchise*, forms one of the principles of this society.—*Belfast News-Letter.*

Declaration and Principles of the Friends of a Parliamentary Reform, in Belfast; at their second meeting, on Thursday, 10th January, 1798.—WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, in the Chair:

Several years have elapsed since many of the wisest and best men in England, Scotland, and Ireland, stimulated their countrymen to demand a Parliamentary Reform; under a conviction that it would conduce as much to the stability of government, as to the liberty of the people. Had that demand been unreasonable, or that reform unnecessary, both would long since have been forgotten, or remained neglected. But that demand has gained strength by age: and the People, instead of being lulled into indolence, are in danger of being roused into fury. Had the advice and intreaties of moderate men been attended to, the constitution and the administration of this country would now be secure; and continental revolutions would be contemplated by this free and peaceable Island, as transactions in which we had no other share, than that which *man* should take in the sufferings or the welfare of *man*.

Those honest patriots who first excited the people, and offered their best advice to government, are now called upon to remind and forewarn administration of the consequences of their former supineness, and their present obstinacy. They have also exerted themselves in keeping alive some respect for the constitution, and some regard to peace, together with hope of redress. But if their exhortations to government be slighted, they feel that their influence with the people will be equally disregarded. They will then be reduced to a dilemma, which, cannot long hold them in suspense. They must take part with government, or they must enlist under the banners of the public. They must either co-operate in establishing a tyranny in their country, or rush into the intemperate measures of an indignant multitude. They may be obliged to renounce an insatuated court, or to meet their dearest relations and friends in arms. Some may seek a remote retreat, and lament in silence the miseries and the crimes by which their native land shall be overwhelmed; but the more numerous and vigorous party will assuredly, after struggling in vain against the tor-

rent, plunge into the flood of civil contest: They may endeavour to regulate its course, and moderate its rage; but they will give it strength and perseverance. They will not be found among the least formidable enemies, or the least active patriots.

We wish not to insinuate, that there exists at present any party hostile to a peaceable settlement. If there be, we know it not: but this we know, that the public mind is in a ferment—that the public arm is strong—and that the most desperate proposals may speedily become the most grateful.

We, therefore, who have always sought for reform within the limits of the constitution, and studied to combine liberty with peace, have determined not to slacken our exertions for the attainment of the one, and the preservation of the other. We have resolved, that whatever may be the result of the present crisis, we shall be blameless; and that neither our rulers nor our fellow-subjects shall have cause to accuse us either of *intemperance* or *remissness*. But we must at the same time solemnly declare, that if the just demands of the people be despised, those *who refuse*, and those *who resist* redress, will be answerable to posterity, to their country, and to God, for all the crimes and calamities that may follow.

In order to avert these evils as much as in us lies, by promoting the object recited above, we have associated under the title of the FRIENDS OF A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; and have drawn up the following fundamental principles, in the hopes that all who approve of their spirit will follow our example, by forming societies of the same kind; so that the *will of the public* may be so explicitly declared on a few clear and indisputable points, that opposition to such measures may find no pretext in any shades of difference among the people. Actuated by these motives, we solicit a friendly communication and correspondence with every society in Ireland, instituted with similar views: from a desire to receive or give information on the subject of an improvement in the representation of the Commons in their own House of parliament; on a plan for its reform; and on the most effectual measures for carrying it into execution.

PRINCIPLES.

- I. A constitution composed of *the King, Lords, and People*,

the latter fully and equally represented in a House of Commons, we prefer to every other—as admirably suited to the genius, wishes, and interests of Ireland.

II. The present mode of representation is absurd, unequal, and inadequate; contrary to the spirit of our own and of every free government.

III. We assert, that the basis of election should be extended to the people of every religious denomination.

With a constitution so modelled, as to restore the just rights of the collective body, without infringing on the prerogative of the Crown, or on the dignities of the peerage, we think this nation, whose loyalty has ever kept pace with their love of freedom, will be satisfied and rest content. To obtain it, therefore, it is the duty of every individual in the most remote part of the realm to come forward, as the voice of the whole people cannot be raised without redress. It is the interest of all orders in the state, from the Sovereign through every gradation of the constituted powers, to submit to the demands of justice; for that government is uncertain, fluctuating, and liable to eternal convulsions, which is founded on principles opposed to *the public will*. A government to which the consent of the community is wanting, verges on despotism, and will terminate in anarchy.

At the third meeting of the society, held January 19, 1793.

NARCISSUS BATT, in the Chair.

Resolved,—That a correspondence be opened with THE FRIENDS of the Constitution, of Liberty, and Peace in DUBLIN; and that copies of those and future public transactions of this society be regularly transmitted to them.

Signed by order

NARCISSUS BATT, Chairman.

ARRESTS.

Jan.—Yesterday two inhabitants of this town were apprehended in consequence of an order from the Attorney-General, charged with having distributed certain papers among the military stationed in this town. They have both given bail to take their trial at next assizes.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

January 14.—In conformity to the resolutions of the town-meeting, (Dec. 26, 1793,) a meeting of Delegates from the respective parishes of the county of Antrim assembled at Ballymena on the 14th of January. From the town of Belfast there were present Rev. Sinclair Kelburne, and John Holmes, and from the parish, William Sinclair. Alexander McManus was called to the chair, and it was recommended, that the eight other counties of Ulster should hold meetings for the purpose of appointing 26 delegates each, to represent them in a provincial convention to be assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February; 26 persons (including the two government representatives for the county,) were then returned from the 8 Baronies of the county of Antrim to attend the convention, of whom W. Sinclair, John Holmes, and Henry Joy were elected for the barony of Belfast.

BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY (BLUE.)

At a meeting of their committee, at the Donegall-Arms, on the 14th January, 1793—

Colonel CHARLES RANKEN, in the Chair:

Resolved.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the battalion should be divided into four companies, and that the officers necessary for each, is one captain and one lieutenant, together with a sergeant.

J. S. McCLEAN, Secretary.

WANTED.—Two *additional* Drummers, and two Fifers, who know their duty.—Apply to Rogers, Fife-Major.

☞ *Recruits* are requested to attend drill, at the market-house, on the mornings and evenings of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8 o'clock.

Market-house, Jan. 16, 1793.

BELFAST REGIMENT OF NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS.

WILLIAM TENNENT, CHAIRMAN.

Resolved.—That this Regiment do meet at the Brown Linen Hall, on Sunday next the 20th inst. at two o'clock, to receive the printed report of their committee.

Resolved.—That this Regiment do meet (*in full uniform, with side arms,*) at the Brown Linen Hall, at twelve o'clock, on Sunday the 27th inst. in order to march to Mr Vance's Meeting-House to hear divine service; and, that on said day, the Regiment do take the report of their committee into consideration.

WM. TENNENT.

ADDRESS TO THE KING.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The **HUMBLE** address of the inhabitants of Belfast, convened in the Town-House, on the 19th of January 1793, by public advertisement.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of Belfast, with hearts penetrated with the liveliest gratitude, most humbly entreat your Majesty to accept our sincerest thanks for your Majesty's care of, and affection for the people of this Kingdom, so strongly manifested by your Majesty's recommending to the serious attention of your Irish Parliament, the situation of our brethren your Majesty's Catho-

lie subjects of Ireland; a measure of distinguished wisdom and goodness; and from which we trust, the happiest consequences will accrue to all the people of this country.

With the warmest sentiments of *loyalty and attachment* to your Majesty's person, and to your illustrious house, we fervently pray that your Majesty may live long and happy, and that the crown may descend with undiminished lustre in your Majesty's family to latest generations.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

and in their Name,

CHARLES RANKEN, Chairman.

SAMUEL NEILSON, Secretary.

January 25.—This day a meeting was held of the inhabitants of the Barony of Belfast; when instructions were agreed to, for the Government of its Delegates at the approaching Dungannon Meeting.

On Monday last (Jan. 28, 1793,) six informations were filed in the Court of King's Bench, against the proprietors of the *Northern Star*, for so many publications which it has pleased the Attorney General to call *seditious*.—Thus argument and public discussion (instead of being refuted, if refutable, on the ground of reason and common sense,) is to be drowned by PERSECUTION.—So much for the Liberty of the Press in Ireland.—(*Northern Star*.)

SMUGGLED ARMS.

The houses and stores of some of the most respectable inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood, have been searched within these few days by officers of the Custom House, under a pretence of their concealing smuggled arms. Do the Custom House gentlemen forget that muskets pay only *ten per cent.* on importation; and of course that no man in his senses would smuggle them?—Or does this proceeding form a part of the grand system of *intimidation*? If the latter be the case, which we the rather suppose, we will tell those gentlemen, as well as their employers, that IT WON'T DO.—(*Northern Star*.)

Jan. 30.—The sum of £53, 3s 0d has been collected in

Belfast, for the French Priests and Emigrants in England, and has been remitted.

On Sunday (Feb. 3.) the Belfast regiment of NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS paraded in uniform, for the first time, and attended divine service, at the second dissenting congregation of this town.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

Either one or two additional regiments and artillery are immediately expected in this neighbourhood. The 38th is on the march, and some pieces of cannon; six were yesterday at Banbridge. It is very confidently asserted, that there will be an encampment of regular forces in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus in the course of the Spring or Summer.—(*ibid.*)

DUNGANNON MEETING.

February 15, 1793.

We, the Delegates of the Province of Ulster, appointed at separate meetings of the counties, assembled at Dungannon on the anniversary of that day which first freed Ireland from foreign Legislation: being fully acquainted with the sentiments of our particular districts, declare the sense of the People in the following terms.

WILLIAM SHARMAN, Esq. in the Chair.

HENRY JOY,
WM. ARMSTRONG, } SECRETARIES.

Resolved.—That five persons from each county, together with the Chairman and the Secretaries, be a committee for preparing resolutions for this Meeting.

A Committee having accordingly been appointed—the meeting adjourned till next day.

February 16.

The Committee having reported, by their Chairman, (Alex. Stewart, Esq.) the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1. *Resolved.*—That we are cordially attached to the form, and original Principles of the British Constitution; as uniting the advantages, and tempering the defects, of the three simple modes of Government—*Monarchy—Aristocracy—and Democracy.*

2. *Resolved.*—That we view with the warmest affection and gratitude, the paternal regard of our gracious sovereign, to his loyal subjects of this kingdom; manifested in his directing the attention of Parliament, to the depressed circumstances of the *Roman Catholics of Ireland*; and his recommending the adoption of such measures as may unite all orders of the People, in their attachment to the CONSTITUTION.

3. *Resolved.*—That we highly disapprove of REPUBLICAN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, as applied to this kingdom; and we reject with abhorrence those principles which have a tendency to dissolve all government, and destroy every wise and salutary distinction in society.

4. *Resolved.*—That it is the constitutional right of the People, and essential to the very being of their Liberty, to be FULLY and EQUALLY represented in their own House of Parliament.

5. *Resolved.*—That the present state of the Representation, in the House of Commons, is *partial and inadequate*—subversive of the rights of the people; and—AN INTOLERABLE GRIEVANCE.

6. *Resolved.*—That it appears to us, that several Lords, spiritual and temporal, as well as Commoners, direct the returns of more than two hundred members of the Irish House of Commons, leaving not one third of the representation to the people.

7. *Resolved.*—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that all Boroughs should be disfranchised, and Representation established on fair and rational principles—by extending the elective franchise equally to persons of every religious persuasion, by elections frequently repeated; and by a distribution of Representatives, proportioned to the *population* and the *wealth* of the Country.

8. *Resolved.*—That we have seen with satisfaction, the House of Commons pledge themselves to an immediate and fair inquiry into the state of the Representation; and we conjure them, as they regard their own *faith and honour*, the *safety* of our invaluable Constitution, and the restoration of the public mind to composure and confidence, to persevere in such inquiry with zeal and steadiness; in order that a complete and radical Reform may be speedily effectuated.

9. *Resolved.*—That deeming a complete Parliamentary Reform essential to the Peace, Liberty, and Happiness of the People, we do most solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our Country, that we

never will abandon the pursuit of this important object, but zealously and steadily persevere, until a full and fair Representation of the People shall be unequivocally obtained.

10. *Resolved.*—That we consider the immediate and entire emancipation of the Roman Catholics, as a measure indispensably necessary to the safety and happiness of this country.

11. *Resolved.*—That a power be vested in a Committee, consisting of thirty persons for the purpose of re-convocting this assembly, (as occasion may arise) until the constituent body is pleased to return another representation of this Province; and that, on a recommendation by letter, addressed to William Sharman, Esq. at Moira, and signed by seven members of the Committee, he shall, by circular letter to the rest, procure the sense of a majority; and if the measure of a Provincial meeting be by any of them approved of, he shall forthwith issue a summons in the name of the Committee, for that purpose.

The following Gentlemen were accordingly appointed :

William Sharman, Moira, *Chairman.*—Henry Joy, Belfast; William Armstrong, L. Derry, *Secretaries.*

COUNTIES.

ANTRIM.—Thomas Morris Jones, Antrim.—James A. Farrel, Larne. Alex. McManus, Ballymena.—William Sinclair, Belfast.—Hugh Boyd, Ballycastle.

DONEGALL.—Jame Watt, Rathmelton.—John Bell, Strabane.—John Allen, Letterkenny.—John Cochran, Strabane.—Samuel Ross, L. Derry.

DOWN.—Gawin Hamilton, Downpatrick.—Alex. Stewart, Letterkenny. Joseph Pollock, Dublin.—William S. Dickson, Portaferry.—John Crawford, Newtownards.

L. DERRY.—John Church, Newtownlimavaddy.—Hugh Lyle, Coleraine.—Alexander Knox, L. Derry.—James Scott, L. Derry.—James Atchison, L. Derry.

TYRONE.—Daniel Eccles, Omagh.—James Reynolds, Cookstown.—William Ross, Strabane.—William Stitt, Dunganon.—Hugh Faulkner, Cookstown.—William Finlay, Carrickfergus.—John Thompson, Clones.

12. *Resolved.*—That the above-named Committee be authorized to communicate with the other Provinces of this kingdom, at this important crisis; and to concert proper means of calling a National Convention, at a future day, should circumstances render such a Meeting unavoidably necessary.

13. *Resolved.*—That we behold with indignation, an intention of embodying a Militia in this kingdom; a measure which can only have, ministerial influence for its object, which we deem burdensome and totally unnecessary.

14. *Resolved.*—That feeling our obligations to our brave, and disinterested protectors, the Volunteers of Ireland, we cheerfully embrace the opportunity of returning them our warmest acknowledgements. We most earnestly exhort them, to persevere in that line of conduct which has procured them the thanks and the confidence of this Nation. We trust that they will increase their numbers; improve their discipline: and long continue the unbought defenders of the *Peace, Liberty, and Constitution* of their country.

15. *Resolved.*—That the sincere thanks of this meeting be given to the inhabitants of Dungannon, and its neighbourhood, for their extraordinary politeness and hospitality to the Members of this Assembly.

WM. SHARMAN, Chairman.

MATTHEW FORDE, jun. Esq. having been called to the Chair:

Resolved.—That the warmest thanks of this Assembly are due to William Sharman Esq, whose conduct in the senate did honour to the Nation, and who is a proof that the noblest principles of action, are, in the present state of the Representation, sure disqualifications for the enjoyment of public trusts.

At a numerous meeting of Gentlemen, inhabitants of the Counties of Antrim,—Monaghan,—Tyrone,—Down,—Derry,—Donegall,—and Carrickfergus,—held at Dungannon the 16th February 1793. A. M'MANUS, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, (Unanimously.)—That it is with infinite concern we behold this Kingdom likely to be involved in the horrors and expences of a foreign war; a war by which, as a Nation, we can gain nothing; but on the contrary must expose our Commerce to depredation, and our country to unprovoked hostility.

A CAUTION.

March 2.—At the present alarming period, we would, earnestly recommend it to the people, to behave with manly firmness, and not to suffer themselves, through indignation of the proceedings in the capital, to be hurried into any act of outrage, or resistance to the laws. By this line of conduct, they will evince, that they are capable and worthy of enjoying rational liberty, and that they know the difference between the De-

MANDS OF A NATION, and the resistance of a part. Soon will Ireland speak her sense of her present state, and the measures above alluded to will accelerate the period. Until then, let the people rest quietly on their arms, and give no handle to their enemies wherewith to vilify them.—*Northern Star*.

March 7.—Yesterday, several magistrates of the county of Antrim, proceeded in a body to the stores of two respectable merchants, in order to search for cannon, as they are empowered to do, under the gunpowder act. There was not any cannon in the stores of either of the gentlemen.—*Northern Star*.

The English papers are full of ridiculous reports of *insurrections* in the north of Ireland, and particularly in *Belfast*; though we are in the most profound peace, and every appearance of industry, commerce, and manufactures presents itself. —The field pieces of the volunteers of the town had more influence (under the direction of the civil power,) in promoting *good order* than any other kind of force hitherto discovered. —We never heard of them till now, except as graceful ornaments at reviews of the natural and most constitutional strength of Ireland; except as tenders for the service of government in a former war with France, when Stewart Banks, Esq. sovereign of Belfast, received an answer from the then lord lieutenant's secretary, that for the protection of our great linen trade, and to cover the coasts from the insults of enemies, government could only send us "a company of invalids, and half a troop of *dismounted Dragoons*."

When the terrors of an invasion ceased to disturb us, we again found these pieces of artillery enforcing obedience to the laws from lawless banditties; we saw them carried to any place, however distant, that sheriffs required; because, in cases of *forcible possession*, they were preferred as means for executing the *King's Writ*; and for which they have received the merited thanks of grand juries and magistrates at quarter-sessions.—*Belfast News-Letter*.

STATE OF BELFAST AND THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, FROM
THE REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE
OF LORDS.—March 7.

"AN unusual ferment has for some months past disturbed several parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfast, and the County of Antrim; it is kept up and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets, of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderate rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issue almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs in both those places, calling themselves committees under various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other.—These publications are circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appear to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is shamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their assistance by a descent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit,* for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations, which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in Dublin, under the title of the First National Battalion; their uniform is copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoat, and striped trowsers, gilt buttons, impressed with a harp, and letters importing, "First National Battalion"; no Crown but a device over the Harp, of a Cap of Liberty upon a Pike:—two pattern

* This charge was solemnly protested to be *totally groundless*, in a Declaration transmitted by the Dissenting Ministers of the town, to the Lord Chancellor on the 11th of March, signed—James Bryson, Patrick Vance, William Bruce, and William Carmichael; and in part, by Sinclair Kelburne.

coats were left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the north, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies are daily increasing in numbers and force; they have exerted their best endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers; some of them having expressly stated that there were MEN enough to be had, but that OFFICERS were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder, to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, have been sent, within these few months past, to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night, by candle-light; and attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honour of the king's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies is to procure a reform in parliament, but the obvious intention of most of them appears to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbear mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries is, That, in their opinion, it is incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they please, without any legal authority—and that the existence of a self-created representative body, of any description of the king's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity."

MILITARY RIOT IN BELFAST.

March 9.—This town, after having been for time immemorial on the best footing with his Majesty's forces quartered here, on the 9th of March presented a scene subversive of the order, decency, and safety of the community. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, a body of the 17th dragoons, intermixed with a few others of the military, rushed from their quarters, and drove furiously through the most of the principal streets with their sabres drawn, wounding and maiming some of the unoffending inhabitants, and attacking houses. The consternation of the town may be easily conceived. As soon as intelligence of the riot reached the officers of the troop, they used much activity in suppressing it: the magistrates also exerted themselves, but the rapidity with which the party forced their way through the town, made it impracticable to suppress it till the injury was done. A guard of 450 volunteers sat up during the night, and no farther harm ensued.

On Sunday, the sovereign, by request, called a meeting of the town, to consider of the best means of preserving the peace, and bringing the offenders to justice. A committee was also appointed to inquire into the cause of the disturbances, but a fresh assault being made by a trooper on a poor unoffending boy, with many expressions of menace which had been heard, shewed the necessity of removing the dragoons from a place which they had so repeatedly insulted. Accordingly, on the representation of this new fact to General Whyte, commander of the district, he ordered, not only the four troops which came to town on Saturday, but also the remaining two of the regiment (which had marched seventeen miles that morning,) instantly to leave town.

Various causes have been assigned for this outrage. It was proved on oath, that some of the troopers, in the interval between their arrival in town that morning, had avowed their intention of committing outrage against certain individuals who

had been represented to them as disaffected. It was also proved, that some of the rabble had insisted that a fidler in the street who had been called on to play "GOD SAVE THE KING," should not play it; and also used some disloyal expressions against his Majesty, and all those that took his part: that a stone was thrown by some of the rabble, and that the troopers then proceeded to demolish the signs of *Dumourier*, *Franklin*, and *Mirabeau*. But surely these circumstances should not be admitted as any palliation of the violent outrages committed *afterwards* by the troopers, on the persons and property of those who had not offered them the shadow of provocation.—*Belfast News-Letter*.

EXTINCTION OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Extract of a public Letter, dated 11th of March, from the Right Hon. Secretary, Robert Hobart, to the Sovereign of Belfast.

"You will be pleased to apprise the leading persons concerned in the *armed associations* of Belfast, that it is deemed to be the indispensable duty of government to forbid all unlawful meetings, under whatever pretence they may assemble, which spreads terror among his Majesty's liege subjects; and it will be right to acquaint them, that—if after the warning held out to them by the proclamation, they shall persist in their illegal assemblies, the magistrates will think themselves bound to disperse the same, and bring the persons concerned therein to the just punishment of the law.

"It is hoped that the proclamation will of itself have full effect, and that no person whatever will attempt to violate the law in that behalf, especially as ignorance thereof can, after such warning, be no longer pleaded. If, however, any body of men shall, in defiance of said proclamation, appear in arms, it will then be the duty of the magistrates to direct them to

disperse; and if they shall fail to disperse upon the order of the magistrate, such magistrate will arrest the leaders of the said body; and if he shall be resisted in the execution of his duty, he is to apply to General Whyte, who will afford him such assistance as shall be necessary to enable him to carry the laws into execution. And if any body shall again assemble in arms in Belfast and the neighbourhood, the magistrate will exert himself to prevent the same, for which purpose General Whyte has directions to give every assistance in his power."

A PROCLAMATION.

WESTMINSTER,

Whereas it appears by the Report from the Lords Committees, appointed to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, that certain seditious and ill affected persons in several parts of the north of this kingdom particularly in the Town of Belfast, have endeavoured to foment and encourage discontent, and by seditious publications circulated amongst the people, and calculated to defame the Government and the Parliament, have endeavoured to render people dissatisfied with their condition, and with the laws.

And whereas it appears to us, by the said report, that several bodies of men have been collected into armed associations, and have been levied and arrayed in the said town of Belfast, and that arms and gunpowder, to a very large amount, have been sent thither; that bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised by day and by night, and that the declared object of the said armed bodies is redress of alleged grievances, but that the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the Parliament and the government, and to dictate to both.

And whereas these dangerous and seditious proceedings tend to the disturbance of the public peace, the obstruction of good order and government, to the great injury of public credit, and the subversion of the Constitution, and have raised great alarms in the minds of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

Now We, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, being determined to maintain the public peace against all attempts to disturb the same, and being desirous to forewarn all such persons as might unadvisably incur the penalties of the law in this behalf, by concurring in practices of a tendency so dangerous and alarming, do hereby strictly charge all persons whomsoever, on their allegiance to his Majesty, to abstain from committing such offences respectively.

And we do charge and command the Magistrates, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Peace Officers, having jurisdiction within the said town of Belfast, and the several districts adjacent thereto, to be careful in preserving the peace within the same, and to disperse all seditious and unlawful assemblies; and if they shall be resisted, to apprehend the offenders, that they may be dealt with according to law.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin, the 11th day of March, 1793.

Fitz. Gibbon, C. R, Dublin, Charles Cashel, Waterford, Westmeath Shannon, Bellamont, Charles Fitz-Gerald, Glandore, Dillon, Valentin, Pery, Gosford, Clonmell, Loftus, Muskerry, Mountjoy, Carleton J. Beresford, J. H. Hutchinson, Lucius O'Brien, J. Blaquiere, H. Langrishe, Thomas Conolly, Theo. Jones, Henry King, H. T. Clements, R. Cunningham, James Cuff, R. Hobart, D. Latouche, J. Monck Mason, James Fitzgerald, R. Longfield, William Forward.

In compliance with the proclamation, the volunteers ceased to parade, or any longer to appear in military array.—(*Belfast Politics.*)

The Volunteers in the town and districts adjacent to Belfast, will observe by the proclamation, that though they are not expressly mentioned therein, yet they are certainly the objects aimed at. It is therefore for their consideration, whether it would be wise or patriotic in them to risk the peace of the country, by appearing in bodies with arms, unless to preserve the public peace, and to aid the civil power: is it not much more magnanimous to discontinue the use of arms *for the present?*—the time may come, and that shortly, when ALL Ireland may be glad to see the *Saviours of their Country* once more in formidable array.—(*Northern Star.*)

At a meeting of delegates from the united Volunteer corps of the county of Antrim, held at Ballymena, the 19th of March, 1793, by requisition, dated 8th instant, CAPTAIN DICKEY in the Chair; the following Declaration was proposed, and unanimously agreed to:

We would ill deserve the honourable name of Irish Volunteers, if, in the hour when danger is apprehended, we would *timidly* desert the interests of our country.

It is true, we have not all begun to learn the use of arms in one day, or in one year; but we are animated by one spirit:—the public good is our only aim, and when our country calls for our assistance, we will stand, or fall, together in her defence.

Obedience to the laws of the land and readiness to carry them into effect, ever have been, and still are, the unalterable principles of Irish Volunteers: we therefore view with contempt, the infamous suggestions of those men, who wilfully misrepresent, and falsely calumniate the laudable intentions of a loyal people.

We have associated for constitutional purposes only—and notwithstanding the unmerited insults lately offered to that honourable institution to which Ireland is indebted for her tranquillity, and whatever independence she possesses, our loyalty and love of country rise superior to our indignation; and we will act with promptitude and zeal to repel foreign invasion, from whatever quarter, or on whatever pretext it may appear.

We wish well to rational liberty—we trust it will prevail over the whole face of the earth; but we wish well also to the peace of Ireland, and in union with our fellow-citizens, we will endeavour to preserve it from foreign or domestic enemies.

Impressed with these sentiments, and disclaiming all others of an opposite description, we call upon our brother Volunteers, by a public and candid avowal of theirs, to join with us in vindicating that honest fame which hitherto has been untainted by the breath of calumny, and which the enemies of liberty and peace now vainly endeavour to asperse. Let us all stand forth, as in former days...the unbought defenders of our country...and by that constitutional, firm, and independent conduct for which the Volunteers of Ireland have ever been signalized, let us prove ourselves worthy of the honourable trust which our fellow-citizens have so universally reposed in us.

ADAM DICKEY, *Chairman.*

HENRY HASLETT, *Secretary.*

March 22.—Mr *Le Blanc*, of this town, who had been arrested under a warrant from the Lord Lieut. and carried to Dublin, returned home after having undergone an examination before Mr Secretary Hobart. He was in custody nearly three weeks, before his examination.—(*Northern Star.*)

April 3.—The assizes for the County of Antrim ended, when the following persons were tried by different juries—

Robert Orr, and *Moses Danson*, on an indictment charging them with an attempt to alienate the allegiance of the soldiers quartered at Belfast.—*Acquitted.*

Joseph Culbert, for publishing and delivering to James Rose, a soldier, an extract from a pamphlet lately published by Thomas Cooper, of Manchester, respecting the nature of the military occupation, implicit obedience to the commands of superiors, losing the use of trial by jury, state of their pay, &c. in December last.—*Guilty. Sentences, Pillory and Imprisonment for one year.*

CONCESSION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

April 9.—An Act of Parliament received the royal assent, by which the *Elective Franchise* was conceded to the Roman Catholics, and they were brought nearly into the same political situation with the Protestants, except that they still remained excluded from sitting in Parliament, from being members of the Privy Council, from holding the office of sheriff, and some other offices under the crown, about thirty in number, specified in the act.

April 15.—About 8 o'clock in the evening, a party of the artillery and 38th regiment, who had arrived in town on Friday last, attacked a sign of *Dr Franklin*, which being made of copper, and hung with iron, had withstood the sabres of the 17th Dragoons, but on this occasion was laid prostrate by the assistance of a rope. They then attacked and pulled down the sign over the office of the Northern Star. What their next enterprise would have been, we know not; but at this period the arrival of the sovereign, and a number of their officers, put a stop to the evening's amusement. The signs, which had been removed to some distance, were abandoned to their proper owners, and immediately replaced. None of the inhabitants were hurt on the occasion.—(*Northern Star.*)

May 25.—Another military affray took place. Some of the inhabitants (particularly Mr Birnie,) were dangerously wounded.

CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

To the Rev. William Bristow, Sovereign of Belfast.

SIR.—As unfounded imputations of disloyalty have been held out against the Town of Belfast, for some time past; and as we are confident there does not exist throughout the empire a community more attached to the person of the King, or to the principles that established his family on the throne. We request that you may give notice of a general illumination to-morrow, in honour of his Majesty's birth-day, in order that the town may have an opportunity of testifying that its love of liberty is perfectly compatible with its attachment to the King.

Belfast, 3d June, 1793.

C. Ranken,	Thomas Brown,	Robert Callwell,
R. Bradshaw,	John Rabb,	Walter Crawford,
Robert Holmes,	John Cunningham,	Val. Jones,
John Davidson,	George Joy,	John Alexander,
Charles Brett,	William Simms,	Wad. Cunningham,
G. McIlveen, jun.	James Ferguson,	Stewart Banks,
Robert Apaley,	Robert Simms,	George Black,
Hill Wallace,	John C. White,	George Black, jun.
Henry Haslett,	John Boyle,	Geo. M. Alexander,
Hugh Johnson,	Alexander Orr,	John Holmes,
Samuel Neilson,	John Clarke,	Barth. Fuller,
P. Vance,	William Batt,	Henry Joy,
Thomas Milliken,	Rich. Callwell, sen.	E. M'Cormick,
William Magee.		

Belfast, June 3, 1793.

(The lateness of the hour, at which this Advertisement was inserted, has prevented the insertion of many Signatures, who were present.)

I am happy in meeting the wishes of the inhabitants of Belfast; and request that there may be a general illumination to-morrow night, in honour of his Majesty's birth-day.

WILLIAM BRISTOW, Sovereign.

FOURTH OF JUNE.

Yesterday evening, this town was generally and brilliantly illuminated in honour of his Majesty's birth-day.—The history of mankind furnishes but few instances of such unfounded calumny and wicked misrepresentation as have been circulated for some time past, against the inhabitants of the town of Belfast. It may be proper to inquire what has been the conduct and sentiments of a people thus vilified.—They have ever manifested a love of liberty, and an irreconcilable hatred to tyranny and corruption, still paying the most profound

reverence to the law;—they reprobated the American war as cruel and unjust—they took up arms in their own defence, when abandoned by government, and thus commenced the remarkable era of Volunteering; they successively promoted the great questions of Free Trade, National Independence, and *Parliamentary Reform*, (this last they have repeatedly brought before their countrymen, and have ever considered it the *only* means of preserving the present government of King, Lords, and Commons.) They have rejoiced at the downfall of despotism in France, without, by any means, approving of all the transactions which have succeeded the revolution in that country.—But their great and never to be forgiven crime is, their having led the way to the emancipation of three-fourths of their countrymen!—Such has been the political conduct of Belfast for these last twenty years, during which period it has rapidly improved in population, commerce, and manufactures,—and for these sentiments, and this conduct, its inhabitants have been branded with the vilest epithets in our vocabulary—*Faction, sedition, treason, and rebellion*, have been echoed from every venal print, to every venal tongue in Ireland. The plunderers of the people shaking themselves, as usual, under the throne, and attempting to make the king, as it were, a partner in their corruptions, have studiously attempted to construe the exertions of Belfast, in favour of liberty, as tending to abolish monarchy—as if liberty and monarchy were inconsistent. Under these circumstances, the town availed itself of the King's birth-day, which they celebrated in order to testify their unvaried opinions, that civil liberty can exist perfect and pure under a limited monarchy, that their exertions have been always directed, not against a King, whose late recommendation in favour of the Catholics was particularly gratifying to Belfast, but against those who, whilst they deceive their Sovereign, wanton upon the spoils of the people.—
(*Northern Star.*)

From a *Court Paper* of the 28th ult. published in Dublin, we (*Northern Star*, October 2, 1793,) extract the following paragraph:—

“Our readers will smile when they are informed, that there exists a society of *patriotic citizens* in *Belfast*, who, during the whole summer, have been at the expence of sending expresses through the neighbouring country, to disseminate the news, when any check or misfortune happened our army, and even frequently propagated falsehoods in the same manner. A ridiculous report reached the North, that 6000 of our troops were blown up before Valenciennes, and these good gentlemen sent messengers instantly round the country with the joyful tidings. The defeat of Marshal Freytag, and the retreat of the Duke of York, was no sooner reported in Belfast, than handbills were printed off, and messengers dispatched to communicate these pleasing events to the neighbouring towns, without a moment's delay. At another time, our fleet was reported to have been defeated, and Jamaica on the eve of being taken; and in proportion as the news was bad, the greater industry was used in spreading it; and lest any part of what was true should be forgotten by the people, the same *patriotic societies* from time to time collect all the bad news that had arrived for a fortnight or a month before, and print it off in the form of a ballad, and get hawkers to hawk it about the country, for the edification and comfort of their fellow citizens.”

We, adds the *Northern Star*, think it a duty we owe, not only to our fellow-citizens, but to our countrymen at large, to assure them, that the whole paragraph is an *unfounded calumny*.

Oct. 31.—As four gentlemen unarmed, were returning home, at a late hour, they were attacked in High Street by a number of men, in the undress uniforms of the Fermanagh militia, with drawn bayonets in the most furious manner, with-

out one word having passed between them. One of the gentlemen was stabbed in the thigh, and the other (Hugh Bell,) received a deep wound in the groin, of which he died a few days after. A reward of 150 guineas was offered by the inhabitants for the discovery of the murderer.

November 14.—On Monday last, Arch. Hamilton Rowan, Esq. and the Hon. Simon Butler, arrived in this town, on their way from Edinburgh to Dublin. As soon as it was known that they were in town, a select party waited on them, and intreated the favour of their company to dinner next day (yesterday,) with which request they obligingly complied. Accordingly, they, together with Gawen Hamilton, Esq. of Killileagh, were yesterday elegantly entertained at dinner, and the evening spent with that conviviality and heartfelt pleasure which the patriotic and the virtuous alone experience.

The following (among many other,) toasts, were drank on the occasion :

The Hon. Simon Butler, and the Societies of United Irishmen.—Gawen Hamilton, Esq. spirit and honesty to the country gentlemen of Ireland.—Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. may the Friends of Liberty ever be found virtuous and BRAVE.—The King.—Ireland; wisdom to her People.—The People of Ulster, who have become one great Society of United Irishmen.—The Volunteers of Ireland, the unbought preventers of a former Invasion.—The Scots Convention, success to their generous efforts in the cause of Human Happiness.—The Friends of the People, in England.—Mr Muir; may his exalted sentiments penetrate the walls of the Irish prisons, and cheer the solitary tenants, victims of Liberty.—Mr Bond, the steady and patriotic companion of our truly noble guest.—Dr Reynolds, the assertor of the legal rights of Irishmen.—Granville Sharp, Esq. and the Abolition of Slavery; *Black and White*.—The *Swine* of England, the *Rabble* of Scotland, and the *Wretches* of Ireland.—The People of Poland; may the

principles of the European Despots never become the rule of private life.—The Freedom of the Press, the only means of obtaining Liberty without Bloodshed.—The Catholic Committee, who declared for a Reform in Parliament.—Liberty and peace to Mankind.

The four societies of United Irishmen of this town, presented the Hon. Simon Butler with an Address on the occasion, expressive of the high sense they entertained of his firm and patriotic conduct, during, and since his imprisonment, to which he returned a most satisfactory answer.

They both proceeded to Dublin this morning.

During the stay of these gentlemen in Edinburgh, they were entertained at dinner by the committee of "Friends of the People," at the Exchange Coffee-house. The Rev. Mr Newton, Preses. Such of the delegates as had arrived from England to the Scots Convention, were also entertained at the same time. The following toasts were drank :

May the Nations be enlightened.—The Land in which Buchannon wrote, Fletcher spoke, and Wallace fought.—The love of Liberty, with the Spirit of Union.—May the name of Englishman, Scotsman, and Irishman, be lost in that of Citizen.—The *Pulse* of Sidney.—(*Northern Star.*)

ADDRESS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN OF BELFAST, TO THE HONOURABLE SIMON BUTLER.

SIR,—We are happy to see you in this town—a town that like you has been calumniated, and like you oppressed. We rejoice at seeing among us a pre-eminent friend to that cause which is just, and to those measures which can alone save this country. You have suffered pains and penalties. We congratulate you ; because power has neither changed your principles nor broken your spirit. Be assured Sir, the period is not remote, when justice, liberty, and truth WILL PREVAIL.

MR BUTLER'S Answer.

The approbation of the patriotic mind is ever grateful to my hear, and as such I receive your address. You have risen superior to the malignancy of calumny, and the oppressions of power ; and I trust,

that with such an example before me, I will not be deterred from the performance of my duty, in a cause which has universal emancipation for its object. I would have sought redress, by an humble and respectful petition to the House of Commons, but "OPPOSITION," whose only view is power and emolument, *refused* under the government of a party spirit, to present or support it; and by that, and the whole tenor of their conduct, most clearly evinced a settled determination of not giving any countenance to us, in the great contest in which we are at present engaged. The justice of our cause and our own exertions, must therefore, in my apprehension, be the foundation upon which we are to ground our expectations of success, of which I never entertained a doubt; for though many will suffer, and some may bleed, the cause of justice must be finally triumphant.

1794.

January 6.—An election was held at Carrickfergus for a knight of the shire for the county of Antrim, in the room of John O'Neill raised to the peerage. The writ of election having been read, and the sheriff sworn, James Stewart Moore proposed Hugh Boyd of Ballycastle: he was seconded by Waddell Cunningham, and unanimously elected by show of hands, amidst the loudest bursts of applause. Just before the sheriff put the question, an elector proposed that Test, which the county has adopted (See p. 343) and deemed indispensable, to Mr Boyd for signature, which was immediately complied with. The new member was accompanied by a very respectable number of gentlemen, from Belfast and other parts of the country.

TRIAL OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

On Wednesday, the 28th of May, this cause came to be tried at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Clonmel, and Mr Justice Downes. In the information the following persons are stated to have been proprietors of "The Northern Star."

William M'Cleery, Tanner,
William Tennent, Merchant,
John Haslett, Woollen-Draper,

John Boyle, Merchant,
William Simms, Tanner,
Robert Simms, Tanner,

Henry Haslett, Broker and Merchant, G. M'Tivsen, Linen-Draper,
 William Magee, Printer and Stationer, John Tisdall, Printer,
 Samuel Neilson, Woollen-Draper, John Rabb, Printer,—and
 Robert Callwell, Printer; all of Belfast.

The following gentlemen composed the Jury :

Thos. Morris Jones, of Moneyglass,	Samp. Moore, of Springmount,
James Stewart Moore, of Ballydivity,	Langford Heyland, of Cromlin,
Francis Shaw, of Carrickfergus,	Staff. Gorman, of Brewmount,
Robert Gage, of Rathlin,	Jackson Clark, of Antrim,
Henry C. Ellis, of Prospect,	Alex. M'Auley, of Glenville,
George Stewart, of Glenarm,	E. M'ildowney, of Ballycastle.

The pleadings were opened on the part of the crown by Mr Ruxton, and the case stated by the attorney-general (*Arthur Wolfe*, afterwards *Lord Kilwarden*,)—“ that they, the proprietors, tending to stir up discontent and sedition among his Majesty's subjects, and to cause it to be believed that there is not any government lawfully constituted in the kingdom of Ireland, did, on the 15th of December, 1792, publish, or cause to be published, a wicked, malicious, and seditious libel.”—(See page 388.)

The evidence on the part of the crown was—James M'Connell, quay-officer of Belfast, who had purchased the whole series of the *Star*, from the commencement (being directed, as he alleged, by the Hon. Chichester Skeffington, collector of Belfast, and Rowland Jackson O'Connor, Esq. distributor of stamps for the county of Antrim.

It being urged, that the evidence for the crown applied only to the printer, and not against all the defendants, the latter were immediately acquitted, and John Rabb, the printer, found GUILTY.—Messrs Dobbs, Curran, Dunn, and Stewart, acted as council for the prisoner.

In the course of the trial it appeared, that the persons accused were the printers and proprietors from the commencement of the paper down to the 17th August, 1793, “ when a new affidavit was made by R. Simms, H. Haslett, W. Simms,

S. Neilson, and J. Rabb, stating that they were the sole proprietors, and Rabb the sole printer and publisher." "The other proprietors found, I presume (says the attorney-general,) that it was adviseable to withdraw from a business so likely to be attended with danger and inconvenience."

And thus, says the reporter of the trial, has terminated a prosecution upon *one* out of the *seven* informations filed, which has been attended (from the peculiar manner in which it has been carried on) with an expence, perhaps exceeding that of any criminal prosecution upon record;—the fees alone for obtaining copies of the informations, stamps, and fees of office, and licence for Mr Curran to plead against the crown, have been little short of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS!!!—See, a tract entitled *A Faithful Report of the Trial, &c. by A Barrister, Belfast, 1794.*

BELFAST.

From the Northern Star.

It was some time ago very much the fashion to abuse this unfortunate town, and indeed this propensity still continues amongst the very vile and ignorant, who always take their cue from those above them, and who are incapable of speaking at all without a prompter. Now, as there is perhaps, no spot on earth, where better morals, more decent conduct, more real virtue, or more of the light of reason prevails, it is curious to — weigh the accusers against the accused.

Who then is it that dislikes Belfast?

A gang of corrupt courtiers, who build their fortunes upon the ignorance, vice, degradation, and religious disunion of this country—they dislike Belfast!

A gang of prostitute and base mercenaries, dependent upon these courtiers, who raise themselves to their favour by all manner of villany—such as persuading simple people to perjure themselves at elections, by laughing at conscience and integrity as a state joke—they dislike Belfast!

A gang of dissolute Bishops, who enjoy a great portion of the lands of the country, and a great share in the legislature of it, —who, instead of taking any tender or affectionate interest in the welfare of the poor, are no further known to them, than as they corrupt them by their example, or oppress them by their avarice—they, and their clergy hate Belfast!—☞ *There are several laudable exceptions here.*

The whole gang of tax-gatherers, pensioners, and sycophants —cry out against Belfast!

The gentlemen of the standing army, whose duty it is to think, speak, and act—as they are commanded, even when their own lives are in question—and who are often slaughtered before they are quite fattened—they swear, most bloodily, that they'll burn Belfast!!!

Booby 'Squires, who are the dupes of subtle courtiers, and who have not sagacity to see that by making common cause with them, they are running headlong into the consequences of their vices—"Lives and fortune men," and "Protestant ascendancy boys"—they are contemptible enough to spit their little venom at Belfast!

Guzzling corporations, jealous of their absurd monopolies, and mock dignity; they drink—"Damnation to Belfast!!!

Old, idle, card-playing tabbies, who complain that the mob have raised the price of chair-hire, and of butcher's meat—they are at a loss to account for the wicked disturbances in Belfast!

☞ And the disinterested tribe of the law, take no fees for railing against Belfast!—(*Northern Star.*)

June 23.—A reward of 200 guineas was offered by certain inhabitants of the town, for the discovery of the distributors of "anonymous letters among the privates of the 79th regiment quartered here,—tending to deceive them, and

to excite a spirit of insubordination and disaffection to their duty."

During the autumn of this year, a considerable change took place in the UNITED IRISH SYSTEM. As there was scarcely a possibility of the members assembling in public, or of openly expressing their political sentiments, they wished to devise other means, and determined to institute a system of secret associations. Accordingly, one of the three societies of United Irishmen that had been formed in BELFAST, and which, having escaped from observation by the obscurity of its members, had never discontinued its sittings; and also another club of men, principally in the same sphere of life, some of whom had indeed been United Irishmen, but others never were, adopted an oath, in place of the United Irish test, by which every member was sworn to "persevere in his endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of the people of Ireland;" omitting the word "parliament," and thus leaving ample room for the efforts of republicanism. Several others were also organised in this town and its vicinity on the new plan, during the autumn and winter of 1794.—(*Mac Neven's Pieces*, p. 76.)

Nov. 17.—The information filed by the Attorney General against the proprietors of the Northern Star, for publishing the *Address of the Society of United Irishmen to the Volunteers of Ireland*, (the same for which Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and Dr Drennan were tried,*) came on to be tried this day in the Court of King's Bench.

The Jury consisted of the following gentlemen:—William Legg, Richard J. Kerr, E. A. M'Naghten, Luke Teeling, J.

* The Address commenced thus:—"Citizens, Soldiers—You first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbances; for the same purposes it now becomes necessary that you should resume them."

Cuppage, Joseph Courtney, Skeffington Bristow, Thomas Cuppage, Henry Clarke, John Dunlop, Adam Hunter, Pointz Stewart, Esqrs.

The trial commenced at a quarter past eleven, and at a quarter past seven o'clock in the evening the jury retired, and after two hours deliberation, returned a verdict of "GUILTY of publishing, but not with a malicious intent," which verdict not being accepted by the court, the jury retired again, and returned a verdict of NOT GUILTY. Counsel for the defendants the same as on the former trial.

1795.—About the commencement of this year, Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland, and assumed the reins of government. The most sanguine expectations were now entertained by the Romanists that their grievances were at an end, and that their immediate emancipation would be granted. Petitions in consequence, poured in from all quarters, and the affair was on the eve of a decision, when Fitzwilliam was suddenly recalled on the 25th of March.

January 26, 1795.—A town meeting was held in the 3d dissenting Meeting-house, Charles Ranken in the Chair, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament in favor of the Roman Catholics. (Their proceedings on this occasion, are thus recorded by Thomas Addis Emmet, in *Mac Neven's Pieces of Irish History*, p. 39.)

"The inhabitants of Belfast once more petitioned the House of Commons in favour of the Roman Catholics. But as if to manifest their *utmost extent* of Contempt towards the House which they alleged had insulted the petitions of the people, and then crouched to a recommendation from the Throne, their present was an exact transcript of that which had been rejected the year before, (this is a mistake, it ought to be *three years before*.) No attempt was made, however, to repeat the indignity."

ADDRESS TO EARL FITZWILLIAM ON HIS DEPARTURE.

March 4.—At a town meeting of the inhabitants, CHARLES RANKEN, in the Chair; it was unanimously resolved—that an Address be prepared and presented to Earl Fitzwilliam, the lord lieutenant, in our name; and that it shall be presented to his Excellency by a deputation of three of our townsmen, Charles Ranken, William Sinclair, and Hugh Montgomery.

ADDRESS.

May it please your Excellency.

We, the inhabitants of Belfast, rejoiced with the millions of our countrymen on the appointment of your Excellency to the Government of this Kingdom. We gratefully admired the wisdom and benevolence of our gracious King, in selecting for that important station, at a crisis awful and alarming, a nobleman, whose character, talents, and virtues, were so eminently adapted to calm the rage of party, to suppress every evil, to encourage every good, and to make a whole people satisfied, united, and happy.

We have rejoiced in the system of public measures commenced under your Excellency's auspices; a system which disinterested regard to public good could alone have dictated; but above all, we have anticipated, with emotions too long unknown to this country, the complete liberation of our Roman Catholic brethren, from those penalties and restraints which have so long fostered suspicion, envy, and hate, created perpetual disorder, and weakened and debased the nation.

With sincerity and gratitude we thank your Excellency for those wise measures which you had happily begun towards the enlarged prosperity of whole Ireland, which evidently forms one of the first wishes of your benevolent heart, and with trembling anxiety, we pray that no contentions of personal ambition may disturb or retard them.

The consolation we have, if any reflection can console us in our deep regret and sorrow for your Excellency's leaving the high station you now fill, is that your Excellency will feel the satisfaction of having endeavoured to do extensive good, and enjoy the grateful affections of a people, who know how much your Excellency's days would be gladdened by the contemplation of their happiness.

We pray your Excellency to continue to the people of this country, that regard for their interest and happiness, which has been so evidently manifested in the measures of your Administration, and we beg leave to assure your Excellency of our gratitude, our respect, and our love.

We consider the day in which his Majesty entrusted the Irish Sceptre to your hand, as one of the brightest in the annals of our country; as we should that of your departure from us, as a day of National Mourning.

CHARLES RANKEN, Chairman.
JOHN CAMPBELL WHITE, Sec.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer.

GENTLEMEN,—I return you thanks for this address, and am happy to receive this testimony of your approbation of my conduct. Be assured, that in every situation of life, and under all circumstances, I shall continue to bear towards the whole people of Ireland, sentiments of the sincerest regard, gratitude, and affection and to feel the deepest interest in their prosperity and happiness.

March 28.—(Agreeably to the resolutions of the town meeting of March 4,) this day was observed as a day of NATIONAL MOURNING, by the inhabitants of this town, on account of Lord Fitzwilliam's departure. There was not a Shop or Counting-house open during the whole day—all was one scene of sullen indignation.—(*Northern Star.*)

BELFAST ROMAN CATHOLIC MEETING.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Belfast, held in the chapel, on Sunday, the 29th of March, 1795—

WILLIAM HENNEN, in the Chair;

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to;

Resolved,—That the decided and manly proceedings of the Catholics of Dublin on the 27th of February last, in deputing B. Hussey, J. Keogh, and E. Byrne, Esqrs, to address the king on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, and in expressing their sorrow on the removal of the Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of this kingdom, meet and have our warmest approbation:

Resolved.—That as men interested in common with our countrymen, for the honour and welfare of Ireland, we must ever despise and detest those evil counsellors who prevailed on the king to remove from the Viceroyship of this kingdom, Earl Fitzwilliam, and those men he had called to his councils, as we fear measures are intended thereby, to renew those irreligious prejudices which have too long blasted the vital springs of the nation, prevented the union of her children, and finally,

to prostrate her rising hopes and virtues at the feet of a faction, whose influence has ever been exerted, under every administration, to damp the growing prosperity of the Irish people.

Resolved.—That we will cordially unite with our Protestant brethren, on all and every occasion, to resist such insults on our *national independence*; whether the attack come from a *British Cabinet* or *Irish incendiaries*, and that we will, *from henceforward*, co-operate with them in all due means, in obtaining that great national object—a representation of the *People* in the legislature; without which, it is our firm belief, we never can be prosperous as a nation, or happy as a people.

Resolved.—That it is with heartfelt satisfaction we behold our Catholic brethren, in almost every part of the kingdom, daily paying their tribute of honest thanks to our worthy fellow-townsmen of every persuasion, for their early, steady, and uniform pursuits in the cause of our emancipation; and we are happy on this occasion (if our small mite could add greater lustre to their character,) to bear testimony to their philanthropy in every instance of social intercourse; and we are proud to say, that from our long habits of intimacy, whether we consider them in the virtuous exertions of obtaining the *liberties of millions*, or in the relative duties of society, we have ever found them as *Men*, demanding our admiration—as *Christians*, claiming our gratitude. The thanks of the meeting were then returned to W. T. Jones and Luke Teeling, Esqrs.

WILLIAM HENDREN, Chairman,

DANIEL SHANAHAN, Secretary.

After the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, the United Irishmen began to spread very rapidly in the counties of Down and Antrim, and it was found necessary to form a general system of delegation, on a scale sufficiently large for their growing importance, and even capable of comprehending every possible increase. Accordingly, delegates were expressly appointed from almost every existing society, and the representatives of seventy-two met for that purpose at BELFAST, on the 10th of May, 1795. In addition to what they found already established respecting individual societies, they framed a system of committees, and thus completed the original constitution of the New United Irishmen. The 10th of May, 1795, therefore, produced the most important consequences to Ireland, and as such will be remembered by the latest posterity.—*Mac Neven*, p. 101-3

September 1.—The Barracks to the east of the Poor-house were begun to be built. The situation is high and airy, and commands a fine view of the town and harbour.—(*Belfast News-Letter.*)

November 17.—The lord lieutenant (*Earl Camden,*) paid a morning visit to this place, and was received in Linen-Hall Street by the Limerick Militia, the Mackay Fencibles, and the Inverness Highlanders, under arms.—*Ibid.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM, TO INTERFERE NO LONGER IN ELECTIONS.

Ballymena, December 12, 1795.

At a meeting of those freeholders who were appointed by the different parishes of the county of Antrim, in February 1792, to support the freedom of election, and to guard the county from the baleful influence of aristocracy, regularly summoned, for the purpose of considering what is their duty on the present vacancy.—WILLIAM DUFFIN, Esq. being called to the Chair, it was

Resolved, unanimously.—That we do not represent, nor pretend to represent, any but ourselves; but we claim the privilege of offering our best advice to our brother freeholders, on a subject which we deem to be of considerable importance.

Resolved, unanimously.—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the independent freeholders should not interfere on the present occasion.

Resolved, unanimously.—That the following gentlemen be requested to withdraw, and prepare a draft of proceedings conformable to the above resolutions.——The Chairman, Adam Dickey, George Jackson, William Sinclair, and Thomas Dickey, Esqrs, Rev. Robert Christy, Messrs John Birnie, Gilbert M'Ilveen, Jun. John Davison, Robert Simms, and Samuel Neilson.

Who having retired for a short time, returned, and reported the following resolution and recommendation to the meeting, which were unanimously adopted as the sense of the assembled freeholders.

Resolved.—That the free and independent electors of the county of Antrim, have, on every election, from the year 1776 down to the present period (five in number,) evinced their *ability* as well as their wishes, to return to the Commons House of Parliament representatives favourable to the great cause of REFORM, in spite of the utmost exertions of an absentee aristocracy, although that aristocracy has been occasionally supported by local prejudice. Sensible, however, as we are, that the exerted spirit of the *independent freeholders* of this county would on the present occasion be as successful as they have heretofore been; yet, impressed with the sad reflection, that the generally degraded state of the Irish representation must ever defeat the honest efforts of county representatives: considering, that after twenty years' well directed exercise of this right, instead of useful attainments, the liberty of our country has been curtailed: recollecting, that our public exertions to obtain (through the medium of our delegates in parliament,) an amendment of the representation of the people has been construed into sedition: that the meetings of our *immortal Volunteer Army*, in which we confided for protection, and to which this country gave birth, have been prohibited: that popular exertions have been made the pretext for the most tyrannic laws: that this county, in particular, has been pointed at in the House of Lords as in a state of ferment: that *the great body of the people* are excluded from any share in the Elective Franchise: but above all, that the successive administrations who have borne sway in this country, have ever made a pretext of refusing a reform—not because it was improper, but because the people were clamorous: and in order to leave the present administration without any such apology, so far as lies in our power; we do hereby recommend it to the independent electors of the county of Antrim, not to take any part whatever on the present occasion.

(Signed by order, and on behalf of the meeting)

WILLIAM DUFFIN, Chairman.

1796, January 5.—On Tuesday last the body of a man was found at low water near the Paper Mills of this town, who, it is supposed, was drowned on Monday night. A large weight of a clock was found in his pocket, and some scraps of paper scarcely legible, from which it would appear that he was a stranger who lately came from Dublin. He had on a dark blue surtout coat, a brown coat, waistcoat and breeches, appeared to be between thirty and forty, his hair and eye-brows fair or rather sandy, on his shirt was marked T. R. No. 12.

A court of inquiry was held before the Sovereign, John Brown, and Thomas Banks, Esqrs. to inquire into the cause of his death. The jury brought in their verdict—*Accidental Death.*—(*Northern Star.*)

According to Sir Richard Musgrave, the deceased was a friend of the name of Philips, who a short time before had arrived from Dublin, and had been introduced to the disaffected societies here; but having fallen under a suspicion of being an informant, he was consigned to the COMMITTEE OF ASSASSINATION, who drowned him near the Paper Mill, and to give a colour of suicide to that atrocious deed, they put a clock weight in his pocket. It is worthy of notice, that one of the committee concerned in the murder, was impanelled on the inquest jury which sat on the body when discovered, and the verdict was of course, suicide.—*Hist. of Reb. I. p. 189.*

March 28.—For several days past reports were industriously circulated, that those miscreants the Orange-Men, meditated an attack on the town of Belfast, and were determined to destroy the persons and habitations of those in this country who had promoted the UNION OF IRISHMEN—in short, of those who preached the divine doctrine of “*Peace on earth and good will to all men.*” Accounts from the county of Armagh had so far corroborated these reports, that on Thursday night last General Nugent, with that attention to the duties of his high station, which has distinguished this officer, thought it necessary to put the garrison of this town in a state of readiness, and to double the guards. The utmost vigilance has been ever since used, and on Saturday last a meeting of a number of those who had borne arms in the volunteer ranks in this town, was held, when a deputation was appointed to wait on the Sovereign, requesting him to inform General Nugent that they were willing to co-operate with the military under his

command, in defence of the town and neighbourhood, in case of necessity.—(*Northern Star.*)

This part of Ulster has long been the first to assert and maintain the liberties of Ireland—Antrim has in general led the way, and Down was ever emulous to vie with her. They have also vied with each other in setting the example of profound tranquillity to the nation at large, and disobedience to the law is in this country unknown. It is in the nature of things that it should be so—the true friend of civil liberty will ever be obedient to the law, *whilst it is law*. It is true, many of our laws are oppressive, some of them indeed, grievous in the extreme, but no redress ever was or ever can be obtained by local insurrections; on the contrary, they ever furnish pretexts for additional oppressions. Not—Redress is only to be obtained by a *general* expression of the *Public Will*.

We are led to these (we would hope unnecessary) remarks, from accounts that in some parishes of this county there are symptoms of unusual discontent. There certainly is reason for discontent; but let us beware lest by adding fuel to the flame, we encrease rather than lessen the disease. If an abhorrence of, and a wish to defend themselves against the incursions of the Orange-Men, actuate the districts to which we allude, they may rest in peace; for should those daring offenders ever attempt an attack on this county, there is force sufficient, civil and military, within the town of Belfast alone, to annihilate the entire horde.—(*Northern Star.*)

May 29.—A very disagreeable affray took place here betwixt the Limerick Militia and the Highland regiment of Rae Fencibles, in which several on both sides were wounded, and one of the latter dangerously so by a bayonet. This affair which had the appearance of being attended with very serious consequences, and for some hours disturbed the peace of the inhabitants, was, however, by the prudent and timely inter-

ference of the officers, prevented from becoming a scene of greater confusion and distress.—By the mutual exertions of the officers, the men of both regiments were confined to their respective barracks, and to prevent their breaking out and again assaulting one another, a detachment of the train, with two field-pieces, were ordered out, while a troop of light horse patrolled the streets. The militia being under orders for Londonderry, were marched out of town by three o'clock this morning, and the usual good order of the town is restored.—Every compliment is due to the extreme vigilance and activity of the Sovereign, Mr Bristow, on this, as on all occasions in which the exertions of Magistracy are necessary.”—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

October.—The *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended.

ARREST OF SUSPECTED PERSONS IN BELFAST.

(*From the Northern Star.*)

September 16.—This morning presented a very unusual appearance in this town. A large body of cavalry appeared in arms—the whole garrison was turned out—the artillery

* The following important observations were at this period submitted to the attention of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the Editor of their favourite print, the *Northern Star*.—

“The approaching downfall of the Pope, at the same time that it affords pleasure to those who have long looked upon the union of political with ecclesiastical power, as subversive of the true principles of christianity, cannot, we think, be disliked by the most scrupulous Roman Catholic in Ireland. Why should the Irish Catholic Church be domineered over by a foreign conclave? Or why should the Pope have the power of nominating Bishops in Ireland.

It is a long period of time since the Gallican Catholic Church threw off the Roman yoke in these respects, and why should the Irish Catholic Church wish to hug her chains at this enlightened period? For our parts, we abhor a foreign control, whether in religion or politics, and are fully convinced that Irishmen are perfectly competent to the regulation and management of their own concerns, spiritual as well as temporal.”

paraded—and there was every show of war. Several great people come to town. Mr John Pellock, Attorney, attended by Lord Downshire, Lord Westmeath, Lord Castlereagh, &c. Detached guards were stationed in several parts of the town, and several of the inhabitants were arrested under warrants signed by Mr Justice Boyd, now resident, as we understand, in Dublin. Mr Sampson's house in particular was beset with soldiers, and searched, by virtue of a warrant, to apprehend *Mr Samuel Neilson*, for high treason, who was at the same moment walking publicly on change. This search was made by the Earl of Westmeath, accompanied by Captain Conlon of the Artillery, and a large armed guard of horse and foot. Mr Sampson assured these gentlemen that Mr Neilson had been but a few minutes before at his house, where he always had been a welcome guest, and had left it so lately that he was surprised they had not met him on the way. Mr Sampson said, that his wife had lain in some days before, and might be alarmed by such an appearance. Lord Westmeath made the usual apologies, and searched every room, closet, pantry, &c. in the house, and amongst the rest, searched that of Mrs Sampson, although Mr Sampson jocularly assured him, she was not, as some other ladies are, in the habit of privately harbouring gentlemen.

Some time after his departure he returned to search the hay-loft, and certain other premises which we shall not name. Mr Sampson offered to open some band-boxes—but that was politely refused on the part of the noble Lord; upon which, Mr Sampson assured him, that he must have had very ignorant advisers respecting houses and persons of Belfast, when he was directed to look either for any concealment in his house, or what is more, when he supposed that Mr Neilson, who was an honest and honourable man, would be found concealed in any place.—Accordingly when the guard was removed from

his door, he went on the change and communicated what had passed to Mr Neilson, who was walking there.

Mr Neilson thereupon stepped to his own house, and related to a virtuous wife what had passed, who, in two words, encouraged him never to return with any stain of baseness or dishonour. He then repaired to the Artillery barrack, where he surrendered himself to Lord Westmeath. The Earl seemed reluctant to take him into custody, as he said he had given the warrant out of his hand. Mr Neilson replied, that he did not intend to be captious, and that he would remain in his custody till it could be sent for; upon which he went into the Public Library belonging to the Society for Promoting Knowledge, where Mr Pollock and Lord Downshire were in pursuit of something, and gave himself into custody, observing that a speedy trial was all he wished for or wanted; that he hoped however, for the sake of the public sentiment, and for peace, that he might not be, as many men of late had been, kept in goal for a year—without ANY TRIAL at all.

It is to be observed that the foreman compositor of the Northern Star was taken into custody, and a number of papers seized without any warrant to that effect. This was the most direct attack upon the freedom of the press. The private papers of several other persons were seized upon and sealed up by Mr William Atkinson, the constable. Several informers acted under Mr Pollock and Lord Downshire on this occasion, some disguised, some not.

It is but proper to observe that Lord Westmeath, at the desire of Mr Sampson, did not make this search till Mr Bristow, whose appearance might give some colour of peace to the transaction, came, at Mr Sampson's request. Mr Haslett, Mr Shanaghan, Mr R. Osborne, and Mr John Young, were arrested, and Mr Russell surrendered himself, in the same manner as Mr Neilson had done.

There cannot, upon the whole, be a stronger contrast, than that between the discreet and excellent temper and conduct of the inhabitants of this peaceable and prosperous town, and that of the above mentioned attorney and lords. How long shall it be thought prudent to submit to this rough-riding of attornies and lordlings! It cannot be doubted that the town will express their sentiments, and that every man, of whatever party or political disposition, will have manhood enough to censure this wanton bravado and contemptible invasion of their peace, at a time when one honest measure would restore safety and satisfaction to every individual. Such a measure cannot be expected from such leaders. But why will people who have any thing be their dupes? Unanimity and justice is all that is wanted to render Ireland secure and happy.

About half past three, the armed procession with their prisoners left town.—We have not time to give a description of it—suffice it to say, that Mr Pollock the attorney, conducted himself with as much firmness as the *patriotic* Lord Castlereagh, the *disinterested* Lord Downshire, the *amiable, virtuous, and accomplished* Earl of Westmeath did—with *manly* courage, and *dignified* wisdom. In short, they did that by dint of *rightly scouting* and *martial* attack, which no human creature was disposed to resist—and which the meanest constable in town could have done as well as they!

Our Readers must excuse the lateness of this day's publication, as our office was blockaded for three hours.—(*N. Star.*)

At an early hour on Friday morning last, (September 16 1796,) a King's Messenger arrived in town, and under a warrant from a Judge of the King's Bench, the following persons were apprehended, on a charge of High Treason:—Mr Samuel Neilson, Mr Henry Haslett, Mr Samuel Kennedy, Mr Rowley Osborne, Mr Thomas Russel, Mr Daniel

Shanaghan, and Mr. John Young. On the same day, and under the same warrant, were apprehended on a similar charge Mr. James Barclay, of Ballymacarret, (or Craigavad,) Mr. Charles Teeling, and Mr. Samuel Musgrave, of Lisburn. Messrs Neilson and Russel surrendered themselves upon hearing the warrants were in town, and no opposition whatever was given by any of the others. A very considerable military force of Horse and Foot attended on the occasion. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the prisoners from Belfast set off on their way to Dublin, in seven post-chaises, escorted by a strong guard of Light Dragoons. When they reached Lisburn, they were joined by the three last-mentioned persons, and proceeded on their way to the Capital, stopping only to take the necessary refreshments. Mr. William Weir, of Dunmurry, was apprehended on the same day, and sent to Carrickfergus goal. Saturday evening, passed through this town, guarded by a troop of light dragoons, Mr.—— Brady, of Lisburn, and Mr. James Fitzgerald, of Sandy-bay, Lough-side, who were lodged in Carrickfergus gaol.—(*Belfast News-Letter.*)

A combination has been formed by the orangemen, (say the Editors of the *Northern Star*,) to stop our posts in [their passage through that country. They have accordingly way-laid and abused several of our men, and threatened them with instant death if they should ever return.

October 14.—We have hitherto abstained from mentioning the curious circumstance that has repeatedly happened of late, of multitudes of people assembling to cut down the harvest of different persons. As faithful historians of public proceedings we give the following general view of these matters, as far as we have received information of them:—Eldred Pottinger Esq. of Mount-pottinger had 12 acres of oats cut down in 13½ minutes. A poor man in the same neighbourhood had

two acres cut by the same reapers, during the time he was lighting his pipe. Mr William Orr, near Antrim, (*at present in Carrickfergus gaol,*) had his entire harvest cut down by near 600 of his neighbours, in a few hours. Mr Rowley Osborne, of this town, (*now in Newgate,*) had 40 ricks of hay stacked in a short time by an immense number of his neighbours, without the formality of a horse or car. Mr William Weir, of Dunmurry, (*now in prison,*) had 2,360 stooks of grain, and 38 ricks of hay, carried in, and completely stacked and thatched, in three hours. Mr Fitzgerald, of Sandy-bay, (*at present in Carrickfergus gaol,*) had his crop cut down in a similar manner. Two persons, near Larne, had their grain carried in and thatched by their neighbours. Mrs Clark of Swatragh, (*whose son is in prison,*) had her harvest cut down in two hours. In the evening of the same day they returned, and carried all the hay in the meadow to the stack-yard, and stacked it. A number of people, on Monday morning last, assembled at Mr William Weir's, in Dunmurry, for the purpose of digging his potatoes: but, on examination were found not sufficiently ripe for digging.—They returned to their respective homes.—(*Belfast News-Letter.*)

Yesterday a number of workmen assembled for the purpose of slating a new house in this town, belonging to Mr Rowley Osborne, (*at present a prisoner in Dublin on a charge of High Treason.*) They allotted a certain number to all the different purposes, and went on with such judgment and expedition, that though the premises were extensive, the whole roof was completely finished in little more than seven hours.—(*ibid.*)

October 20.—About 1500 people assembled and in seven minutes, dug a field of potatoes belonging to Mr Samuel Neilson of this town, (*now in Kilmainham,*).—(*Northern Star.*)

ASSASSINATIONS.

October 19.—Early in the evening, William M'Bride, Cotton Spinner, was shot in North-street, by some person or persons unknown. A reward of 300 guineas was offered for the discovery of the perpetrator of said murder. How dreadful (exclaims the Editors of the *Northern Star*, in relating this murder,) is the situation of that country, where a system for the encouragement of spies and informers is established, where the people are borne down by oppressive laws, where legal redress seems hopeless, and where some, by desperation are led so far astray, as to see no certainty for their own personal safety, but having recourse to the dreadful crime of assassination!

In Armagh, 700 or 800 families were driven from their homes; murder after murder was committed in cool blood, *in the name of religion*; and the dying were comforted by the blaze of their own habitations, and the shrieks of their children and wives! but we have not heard of many rewards offered.—In *rebellious* Belfast, ONE solitary instance of murder happens in the case of a wretched informer, and the best friends of liberty, willing to sacrifice every feeling to virtue, step forward, and offer a large reward for the apprehension or conviction of the offender. Ye base and murderous calumniators what say ye to this? The following very just description of spies and informers, is taken from a work of the celebrated Schiller's: "The next are spies and informers; tools of importance to the *great*, who lend their ears to them, and from their secret information derive their own supposed omniscience. These villains insinuate themselves into the souls of men like leeches, to suck out their secrets; they draw poison from the heart, and spit it forth against the very source from whence it came."—(*Northern Star*.)

ANY PORT IN A STORM.

MR EDITOR.—When war fails, and spies fail, and the Bank fails, and delusion fails; what if ministers would try a few scruples of common honesty: desperate cases must have desperate remedies, yours, &c. *A QUACK POLITICIAN.*—(*N. Star.*)

ROBBERY OF THE KING'S STORES.

On Friday night last (October 28,) a most daring robbery was committed. The king's stores, in Callendar-street, were broken open, and ten casks of gunpowder taken out. What renders it the more remarkable is, that there were five casks of damaged powder left untouched, and the ten casks which were taken were behind a great deal of other goods.—(*Ibid.*)

MILITARY OPERATIONS.

On Tuesday last (November 1,) the remainder of the Monaghan militia marched into the new Barracks, where we understand they are to be quartered for the winter. Same day, the Fifeshire regiment of Fencibles marched from this to Carrickfergus; and the Reay Fencibles, which had marched on Saturday last for Carrickfergus, returned to this town. Late on Saturday night, the 22d regiment of Light Dragoons arrived here, and without halting, part of them proceeded on to Carrickfergus, Larne, and Glenarm; the remainder to Newtonards, Donaghadee, and Portaferry, &c.—Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday they patrolled the shores in the different directions above mentioned without intermission; but they have since returned to their former quarters, in the towns of Lisburn and Hillsborough. Such marching and counter-marching we have never witnessed, and all owing to the information of the captain of a collier, who swore on his arrival in Dublin a few days ago, that he had, off this harbour, spoken a large vessel, frigate built, the captain of which told him, he had a large

parcel of arms and ammunition to land in this neighbourhood. Such intelligence might be sufficient to excite the fears of our *wise administration*, but would not for an instant impose upon any man of common sense; for, admitting that a vessel had arms on board to be landed, can we suppose the captain would be so foolish as to inform the captain of a collier, bound to Dublin, of the business he had in hand. We would recommend it to administration to examine the crew of the collier, and they will, we doubt not, learn as much as will induce them to prosecute the captain for perjury. We pity the poor soldiers, who have been harrassed to an extreme degree, without any cause, and in very bad weather.—(*Northern Star.*)

For the last eight days our coasts have been infested by an invisible *enemy*, and though the utmost pains have been taken to discover them, they have hitherto been ineffectual. Some reports state, that they are hid in some hogsheads of Tobacco that arrived a few days ago from America, and which are to be examined leaf by leaf at the landing; others, that they are under the arches of the long bridge: some people say, that they were in the king's store; others say, that they are on the top of Scraba hill! but the report which gains most credit, and appears to us the most *probable*, is, that they are concealed in the third cave in the Cave hill, which, being inaccessible, has prevented them from being discovered. However, we understand from good authority, that two attempts are to be made to storm this hidden recess:—a party of cavalry, with the assistance of ladders, are to ascend from the foot of the hill, while a body of infantry are to be let down the precipice with ropes from the top, and these two bodies, mutually *supporting* each other, will place the enemy between two fires:—Oh, how they will pepper them! aye, and if that does not do, they will *smoke* them.—(*Ibid.*)

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

By the death of Hugh Boyd, a vacancy was caused in the representation of the county. On this occasion, the celebrated Arthur O'Connor vacated his seat in parliament, and started as a candidate for the county of Antrim, and the exertions of the independent party were once more called into action.

STATE OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

At a Meeting of the Magistrates of the County of ANTRIM, held at ANTRIM, on *Saturday, the 12th of November, 1796*, the following RESOLUTIONS were agreed to—Lord Viscount O'NEILL in the Chair:

Resolved.—That at this alarming crisis, when we are threatened with a foreign INVASION, and when seditious associations are formed, hostile to the internal tranquillity and regular government of the county, it is the duty of every man who values the blessings of our constitution, to stand forward in defence of the laws, and of that rational liberty and security which the due execution of them affords to the persons and properties of all his Majesty's subjects.

Resolved.—That we see with indignation and abhorrence, a system of assassination and outrage making its appearance in this county; a system which stops the channel of public justice, robs every individual of his dearest right, and has materially injured the commercial credit of the county.

Resolved.—That this atrocious system has originated in unlawful meetings, held under the pretext of promoting Reform; the members of which, we have good grounds to believe, are united under the obligation of unlawful oaths.

Resolved.—That a continuance of this system of terror and intimidation, which has been attempted to be established in this county, will lead to the inevitable necessity of having recourse to that remedy which a late law has provided in such cases.

Resolved.—That when a foreign enemy is making preparations to invade our shores, when it becomes the duty of all well-affected subjects to form themselves into armed bodies, under the sanction of the legislature, for the defence of their property, it is necessary to declare—that we will support, at every hazard, the formation of such corps, which in certain parts of this opulent county, have been hitherto obstructed by menace and insult.

Resolved.—That as men and magistrates, we will use our best exertions to stop the progress of sedition, outrage, and assassination, in whatever form they may appear, and preserve the peace and tranquillity of the county; and should efforts for that purpose be unsuccessful, we will not shrink from the duty, however we may lament the necessity, of taking the steps prescribed by the law, to declare the county in a disturbed state.

Resolved.—That this meeting be adjourned to the second day of the next quarter-sessions, being the 23d instant, to be held at Ballymena; where the attendance of all the magistrates of this county is most earnestly requested, to report the state of their respective districts in which they reside.

O'NEILL, Chairman.

Lord O'Neill having quitted the Chair, and the High Sheriff being called thereto,

Resolved.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord O'Neill for promoting this meeting, and for his very proper conduct in the Chair.

JAMES WATSON, Sheriff.

(SIGNED)

O'Neill, Governor,	James Watson, Sheriff,	Stewart Banks,
Ez. Davys Boyd,	Alex. M'Auley,	Francis Shaw,
George M'Cartney,	Thomas Morris Jones,	G. A. M'Cleverty,
Richard Gervis Kerr,	William Bristow,	Wm. M'Cleverty,
Samuel Allen,	John Lang,	James Lendrick,
Jackson Clarke,	Poyntz Stewart,	Doherty Gormen.

ASSASSINATION.

November.—John Kingsbury, a butcher was assassinated near Drumbridge. A few days afterwards, Joseph Cuthbert, Thomas Potts, Thomas Storey, Charles O'Donnell, and John Gordon, all of Belfast, were committed to Carrickfergus gaol, charged on oath with entering into a conspiracy to murder.

Dec. 16.—Yesterday John Boyd, butter-buyer, and Alexander Gordon, woollen-draper, both of this town, were committed to Carrickfergus gaol, the former on a charge of high treason, and the latter for a conspiracy to murder. Lately, William Brown was committed to the same prison from Ballymena, for tendering an unlawful oath to two-gunners of the regiment of artillery.—(*Belfast News Letter*)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF BELFAST IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE NEWS OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH FLEET OFF BANTRY BAY.

Dec. 30.—On Tuesday night our Sovereign received a letter from Secretary Pelham, announcing the appearance of a fleet off the southern coast of this island, which was supposed to be French.—On Wednesday he communicated the contents of the letter to the merchants on change, and both he and Mr Bristow (our late chief magistrate) urged the gentlemen present to associate and form a yeoman corps. The general sentiment of the people present seemed to be, that they were ready and willing to take up arms instantly for the protection of persons and property, both against foreign and domestic enemies; but that they could not, without doing violence to their consciences, take an oath to support faithfully the present laws, which would include the Gunpowder Bill, Convention Bill, and many others of a similar tendency, which they could not but consider as improper and unnecessary. A number of the Old Volunteers who were present, stated that they were ready to serve in the same manner they had formerly done, and they had no doubt but the whole of the old volunteer corps would do the same.—(*Northern Star.*)

On Saturday (December 31,) a general meeting of the inhabitants was held at the Exchange Rooms. The Sovereign having taken the chair, stated to the meeting, that "in the present alarming situation of the country, when the fleet of the enemy was upon the coast, he thought it his duty to call the inhabitants of the town together, for the purpose of submitting to their consideration the propriety of arming themselves in defence of the country against the common enemy." The necessity of this measure was also warmly urged by the Rev. William Bristow. Counsellor Simpson proposed that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the business that came before the meeting, and frame such resolutions as might

appear to them most proper, to be submitted to another general meeting on the ensuing Monday."—*Robert Thompson* spoke in favour of this motion. *Mr Whinnery (Postmaster)* proposed that "a book should be immediately opened, when those who approved of the measure of arming in defence of the country under the conditions of the act of parliament, might subscribe their names."—This motion was supported by *Mr Turnly*. *Arthur O'Connor* delivered his sentiments at great length in support of Counsellor Sampson's motion. The following gentlemen were then appointed as a committee to draw up the resolutions:—*The Sovereign (John Brown)*, *Rev. William Bristow*, *Counsellor Sampson*, *Robert Thomson*, *Dr White*, *Arthur O'Connor*, *William Tennent*, *Robert Simms*, and *Gilbert M'Ilveen, jun.*—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

From the Northern Star.

1797.—On Monday (January 2.) the inhabitants of this town assembled at the Exchange at the hour of One, pursuant to adjournment on Saturday. The numbers were so great that it was found impossible to assemble in the ball room, as after it was filled there remained twice as many persons on the stairs and in the space below. It was then proposed to adjourn to the White Linen Hall; but no preparation having been made for their reception, they at length collected on the pavement in front of it, and as the Sovereign did not appear to take the chair, and other gentlemen conceiving it to be a meeting called and adjourned by him, seemed unwilling to occupy his place—*Mr Sampson*, as one of the committee, addressed the meeting in nearly the following words:—

"Gentlemen, as one of your committee, chosen by you to deliberate for you, and in your name, upon the most important of all subjects, where, and in what manner, and how far, and for what, you are to risk your lives, as men not used to make professions and afterwards desert them. Sensible of the importance of this charge, when you have ain sleeping in your beds, I have lain awake in mine. Since your last meeting two of your committee have seceded from us; and your

chief magistrate has left you to yourselves, the very gentlemen who called you first together, for what purpose, or with what views, it would best become themselves to have stood forth to say—I cannot see them now amongst you. It is necessary for you to know this matter. It is regard to your safety and your character that would alone induce me to be obtrusive for one instant. There are some men malignant enough to hold you out just now as a disorderly assembly. The shame lie on their heads who brought you here, and then deserted you. But, Gentlemen, I doubt not that your conduct will give the lie in truth and fact, to every such base and unfeeling aspersion, and that your dignified temper and forbearance from inveighing even against those that have ill-treated you, will give a wholesome lesson to a few proud individuals; they themselves are but the shadow of your body, and that in the good sense, the firmness, and the virtue of the many, is to be found the peace and honour of this country. Remember that the first step towards reform is to reform ourselves, and that before we pretend to controul the vices of our rulers, we should be able to controul our own passions. I am sorry, my friends, to see so many wealthy and distinguished men amongst you; I could have wished if it had so happened that you had been all of the poorer class, that that conduct which amongst any other people similarly placed, could not have been expected, might be more eminently contrasted with that of those who affect to look down upon you and despise you. It is to you that are poor, therefore, that these observations are addressed by one that loves you, to guard you against the rancorous calumnies and snares of those that hate you. Gentlemen, you have already debated the matter, whether we should put ourselves under the command of our government, and offer our lives without condition or qualification of any kind. To this you have been exhorted by the example of the venerable Earl of Charlemont. I will detract nothing from the merits of that venerable Earl; but I see amongst you the genuine originators of the Irish volunteers; and besides the danger of being led by the authority of any individual, I remind you of this which you well know, that it was not Lord Charlemont that raised the volunteers, it was the volunteers that raised Lord Charlemont; and had Lord Charlemont abided by the volunteers, there would have been little occasion for a Yeoman Bill, and little room for the deliberations we have had. By the same steps that men raise themselves upon the honest cause of the people, by the same steps do they descend when they forsake it. Follow you the example of those Volunteers, who adorned, preserved, and civilized their country, who to this moment are the flower of all this country. Be like them brave and generous, discreet and wise; stand fast together, compacted in the firm band of union and affection; be loyal and true-hearted to each other, and the proudest he, in all this land will not be long too proud to follow you; but it is said it is against the law to act as volunteers, and an act of parliament has been read to you from which that argument has been inferred. It were to be wished that every act of parliament should be as

penned as to convey its meaning clearly to the plainest apprehension ; but I, for my part, can see nothing in that or any other act to justify the inference. You have been threatened unless you forced your consciences to take this oath, *to have your town demolished.** This threat might determine a conscientious man never to take it. You have been threatened to be deprived of the king's peace. Friends, whatever share of the king's peace may be allowed you, keep peace amongst yourselves, I do beseech you ; whilst you do so all men of sense and spirit will be with you. For my part, were there no man by me, whose coat was better than the worst of yours, whilst you entrench yourselves behind the line of your acknowledged rights, be virtuous, orderly, discreet, and wise, and may I be forsaken of every thing that's good if I forsake you. You are told to wipe off the stigma affixed upon your town. If any besides the envious and unjust have received evil impressions of you, it is to be lamented ; but for the rest, when you consider for what you are calumniated, by whom and by what means you are calumniated, you must feel those calumnies to be most exquisite praise. Some few have shewn a forwardness to swear, and many a marked determination not to do so ; every man must be the judge of his own principles and scruples, and we should learn to tolerate each other. We have been charged to draw up such resolutions as we, of your committee, judged most likely to produce perfect unanimity. For the sake of that perfect union of sentiment so necessary to Ireland, and chiefly to the richer order who have most at stake, we have adopted resolutions not framed upon the spur of the occasion, but long since prepared by grave and deliberate men for

* A report was about this period in circulation, that it was in the contemplation of government to burn and destroy this town. It is alluded to in the following extracts :

“ Rennes, in Brittany, bore a great resemblance, in some points, to Belfast at the present period ; and there were not then wanting some headstrong politicians, who, for the folly of particular persons, would have laid waste the capital of Brittany, as, in our days, Belfast was very nearly destroyed from the suggestions of similar political zealots.” (See *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, Vol. I. p. 408.) “ Those acts are strong reasons for loving the Lord's anointed ; who issue their royal warrants in the following humane and pious manner :—‘ *George, by the grace of God. We command you to burn the town of Belfast, &c. such is our royal pleasure.*’ Burning a town by the grace of God, and by a man calling himself the father of his people, might be strong reasons for saying—‘ From such grace, and such parents, O Lord deliver us!’” (Extract from *The Union Star*, in *Report of Secret Committee*, p. 257.) “ When we consider how often the town has been denounced as a horde of traitors—how often it has been projected to burn or destroy it.” (*Address to the Inhabitants, &c.* 1797, p. 15.) Any farther elucidation of this subject will be thankfully received by the Editor.

the adoption of this and other counties; and if I am rightly informed, with the approbation of those of the highest station in this county.

Mr Sampson was now unanimously called to the chair, and after reading the resolutions twice over, which were adopted without dissention, and a motion made by Dr White, that they should be published, which was carried, and the last resolution moved by Mr Thomson, respecting the *soliciting* of permission to arm as volunteers being unanimously carried, Mr Sampson thanked the assembly for the honour of their having called him to the chair, and requested as a further mark of favour, that they would retire with hearts full of mutual good will and kindness to each other, each to his own home. The meeting immediately dispersed to the different quarters of the town in a manner the most peaceable and orderly.—
(*Northern Star.*)

THE RESOLUTIONS.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast, held by adjournment, on the 2d day of January, 1797; from the former meeting of the 31st December, 1796. The committee chosen by said meeting having agreed to the following resolutions, recommend them to their townsmen for their adoption—COUNSELLOR SAMPSON, in the Chair:

1st. *Resolved.*—That the imperfect state of the representation in the House of Commons is the primary cause of the discontent at present existing in this country.

2d. That the public mind would be restored to tranquillity, and every impending danger effectually averted by such a Reform in Parliament as would secure to population and property their due weight in the scale of government, without distinction on account of religious opinions.

3d. That a determination, firmly manifested on the part of government, to comply with the just desires of the people, would be productive of the happiest effects, inasmuch as it would conciliate the affections of the people, whose object is Reform alone, and thereby constitute the only rampart of defence that can bid complete defiance to the efforts of foreign and domestic enemies.

4th. That such a change in the system of government would give to property, law, religion, and the necessary distinctions of rank, additional stability and weight; and that no opinion can be entertained by the people so dangerous, as the despair of succeeding in their constitutional exertions to attain the most important object of their wishes.

5th. That we conceive a government by King, Lords, and Commons (the Commons being thus reformed,) when wisely and honestly administered, capable of affording every happiness a nation can enjoy.

6th. That we are ready, if permitted by government, to arm in like manner as the Volunteers, whose memory we revere, and whose example we wish to imitate.

Resolved.—That the Chairman be requested to wait on the Sovereign with a copy of these resolutions, and to request him, in the name of the meeting, to communicate the same to the lord Lieutenant, and solicit permission for the inhabitants of this town to arm themselves, agreeably to the above resolution.

We, the undersigned, having observed the representation given in the Northern Star of the 2d of January inst. of the proceedings at a meeting of the inhabitants of Belfast on that day—think it incumbent upon us publicly to declare, that such representation, if meant to imply that we approved of the resolutions therein mentioned, or assisted as members of a committee, or in any other manner, in preparing the same—is not founded in truth.

The only business laid before the meeting of the 31st December by the Sovereign was, to consider the necessity of arming pursuant to law, at this period, when the country is threatened with invasion; and finding, on meeting the committee, that questions of another nature were agitated, and resolutions on other subjects about to be prepared, we respectively declined to take any part therein, and retired from the committee.

We deem it incumbent on us further to declare, that we hold it to be the first and best duty of every Irishman, at this time, to take up arms, pursuant to law, in defence of his country—an opinion in which we are happy to be warranted by the conduct of a most respectable number of our townsmen.

5th January, }
1797.

JOHN BROWN, Sov. of Belfast.
WILLIAM BRISTOW.

Shortly after the publication of the above *Resolutions*, a letter was circulated from the post-office, addressed to the inhabitants, by AN IRISHMAN, and dated *Dublin*. It contains some severe remarks on the character and principles of Counsellor Sampson and Arthur O'Connor, and concludes in the following manner:

“ But my hope is, that these malignant resolutions have not received, and that they never will receive, the sanction of the inhabitants of Belfast. It is a fatal mistake if you conceive that the unpolluted understanding of the people of Ireland can be imposed upon by such execrable trash. They never will be persuaded that men who could make so wicked

an attempt upon the loyalty of your town are sincere when they talk of Reform.—If, however, I am mistaken in your principles, and if you shall adopt the sentiments of your orators, you will remain secluded from the great mass of the nation, as the objects of well-founded suspicion and distrust; but should you still go further, and proceed to any acts against your allegiance to your king and country, we must prepare ourselves for the agonizing pang of beholding some of our *degenerate fellow-citizens* among the ranks of our enemies, *mingled with guilt and profligacy* in the day of battle; the indignant shouts of your gallant countrymen will *appal your hearts, and unnerve every limb of you*; and you will find that the hosts of Irishmen now in arms, and ready to shed the last drop of their blood in the preservation of their country, will, in the words of one of the immortal resolutions, “constitute a rampart of defence which can bid defiance to the efforts of foreign or domestic enemies.”

To this letter, an answer, under the title of “*Cool Strictures on a Handbill, &c.*” was immediately published by A TOWNSMAN, from which we shall make a few extracts.

“It is in vain they would accuse Irishmen of inviting the French into this country; it is they themselves who have invited them. It is their gunpowder bill—their tumultuous bill—their indemnity bill—their convention bill—the habeas corpus suspension bill—and their long catalogue of vindictive and hateful measures, connected with those bills, which have invited them. It is the well known rottenness of our system, and the too well-grounded discontent of the people which has invited them. Perhaps this very yeoman act, and the coercion used to procure *volunteers* under it, may have encouraged them. These things being premised, and the French being thus brought upon our coasts, what was the way, in sound policy, the most likely to get rid of them? Was it to call the people of a great and energetic town together, and propose to them to fall a swearing? No! if the sovereign and the Rev. Mr Bristow had conceived the crisis so awful, would not even saying of prayers have been a better measure than swearing of oaths? and particularly, oaths which the most of the town, and very many of those who have been actually surprised into swearing them, have over and over again declared to be repugnant to their consciences and their feelings as men. Let any man who has been witness to the generous spirit which called forth the original Irish Volunteers—those very inhabitants of this town who are now the objects of so much calumny, compare it with the means by which these new levies have been raised. The French were not then, it is true, in Bantry Bay, but the French and Spaniards were then hovering on our coasts, and some of them in our own bay, their cannon even sounding in our ears; our country was not then protected by such numerous and victorious fleets, nor guarded by such a powerful military force; to ourselves and a few invalids we were left for our protection—

yet then there was no swearing. Nevertheless, and without a single oath, in a short time, an array of brave and independent men stepped forth in our province, three times the number that these unnatural measures have yet produced throughout the kingdom. You that are fond of framing oaths, and you that are so prone to swallow them—what say you to this? It seems as if the government, conscious that they had forfeited all confidence with the people, had adroitly planned this manœuvre of swearing, without offering any concession on their part, to find out, of how many freemen and how many slaves the population of Ireland consists: I believe the experiment has not succeeded to their wishes, and I pray to God it never may. But if the government choose to have our support to the laws, sanctioned by our oaths, let them put the laws on such a footing as to deserve it—till then I may, to avoid punishment, yield a melancholy obedience, to the existing laws; but further than that withered be my heart, and palsied be my hand, if I support them.”

January 9.—We are sorry to learn, that the sovereign thought proper to decline transmitting the late resolutions of this town to the lord Lieutenant, by which means we have been deprived of knowing his Excellency's sentiments upon that important subject.—(*Northern Star.*)

Formation of the Belfast Yeomanry.

At a meeting held last Wednesday of those persons who have determined to form a Volunteer Corps in this town pursuant to law—it was resolved to form a Troop of Cavalry and a Corps of Infantry, and the following Gentlemen were elected Officers by ballot, whose names were transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant for his Excellency's approbation.

For the Cavalry.—Charles Ranken, Esq. Captain. William Rainey, Esq. First Lieutenant. Cortland Skinner, Esq. Second Lieutenant.

For the Infantry.—Robert Wallace, Esq. Captain. Geo. Joy, Esq. First Lieutenant. J. Turnley, Esq. Second Lieutenant.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

On Tuesday last forty tumbrils of ammunition arrived from

Dublin, escorted by a strong detachment of the County Cavan Militia, who after depositing their charge in the new barracks, returned next morning to their quarters.—(*Ibid.*)

February 2.—ARREST OF ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

Arthur O'Connor, Esq. candidate for this county, was arrested by Constable Carleton, at O'Neil's Hotel, in Frederick street, on a charge of having published a seditious libel against government, (being his *second address to the Free Electors of the County of Antrim.*) A military guard has been placed since Friday last in the house lately occupied by Mr O'Connor near this town. In the same warrant, (signed by 6 Privy Counsellors,) *Mr Kennedy of this town, now confined in Kilmainham gaol, was comprehended.*

ARREST OF R. AND W. SIMMS. February 3.—Messrs Robert and William Simms, Merchants, were arrested in consequence of a warrant brought by a King's Messenger this morning from Dublin. In the afternoon they set off in two post chaises for that city; these two gentlemen were the only Proprietors of the Northern Star, who remained at Belfast. A military guard has remained in the Northern Star office since Friday.

February.—Joseph M'Ilwain the carrier of the Belfast News Letter from Lisburn to Dromore, and forward on that line of road, was attacked, two miles beyond Hillsborough by three persons, who forcibly took from him all the Newspapers which they immediately destroyed, at the same time threatening the most dreadful vengeance against him or any other person who should carry the Belfast News Letter longer on that road.—(*Belfast News-Letter.*)

February 10.—Another carrier of the same paper, was stopped two miles on this side of Lisburn, by two persons, who took all the Newspaper parcels, and threw them into the

stream.—(The newspapers were sent in future by post.)—(*ib.*)

February 13.—The carrier to Downpatrick was stopped near Dundonald, and the papers destroyed. Another carrier to Portaferry, was stopped same night, and plundered in a similar manner. A reward of 20 guineas was offered for the apprehension and conviction of any of the persons concerned in committing any of the above depredations.—(*ib.*)

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The Person who has been waiting upon the Commissioners of Stamp Duties in Dublin these 12 or 14 days past, for the purpose of qualifying as Printer and Publisher of this paper having not yet returned, we continue the publication as usual, under the sanction of the spirit of the LAWS OF IRELAND.—Leaving it, as we do, to the *proper Office* to account for its conduct, at the same time that the *military* supporters of *regular* Governments and *true* liberty MUST atone to their Country for the *arbitrary* suppression of an independent newspaper, and be *compelled* to make compensation, to the proprietors, for an unprecedented destruction of private property in violation of even the colour of law.—(*N. Star Office Feb. 24.*)

Who could attempt to compare the present *Yeomen* with the old *Volunteers*?—The *paltry* services of the old Corps were remunerated by *disgrace*, after FOURTEEN YEARS experience. The pretent *glorious* band have not been quite THREE MONTHS in existence, and our virtuous Government has expended FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS of Irish gold upon them!!—So much for the disinterested patriotism of our new levies.—(*ib.*)

ANOTHER DREADFUL PLOT.—Yesterday Colonel Barber, attended by a *strong guard*, surrounded Union Street. A Cotton Factory of Mr Emerson's appeared to be their principal object; however, the houses, gardens, and dunghills, of some

other inhabitants did not escape without being searched and dug for *something*, but after a laborious attack they evacuated the place without carrying off any trophies.—(*Ibid.*)

(*The following, in a blank cover was left at our Office yesterday.*)

“ General Post-Office, March 7, 1797.

“ To Messrs. G. ANDERSON and T. GREEN, Newry,

“ GENTLEMEN,—It being understood there is attached to the Belfast Mail Coach, a strong box, for the *alleged purpose* of conveying and re-conveying guineas between Dublin and Belfast, which is constantly locked up on the road upwards and downwards, one key being kept by a merchant in Dublin, and another in Belfast, so that no one can have access to it, excepting such persons as are in the immediate confidence of those who have charge of the keys. I am commanded by the Post-masters General to observe, that it is by no means the wish of their Lordships to throw any obstacles in the way of any commercial purpose; yet as it is very possible that this box, *so secured from all observation*, may be turned into very improper uses, and instead of serving as a safe conveyance for guineas, may be made the medium of conveying letters and other packets, very much to the prejudice of the revenue of this office, they should feel themselves as acting very unwarrantably indeed, if they permitted the continuance of such *secret conveyance*, without establishing a proper check thereupon; and therefore I am further to acquaint you, that unless keys are forthwith procured for the deputies in Newry and Belfast, so as to enable them, by having access to this box, to prevent the illicit conveyance of letters and packets therein, they must necessarily order its immediate discontinuance.

“ The agents of the persons concerned may attend when the deputies open the box, but it is to be observed, that the deputy at Belfast must be the *first person* to open it on its arrival there, and the *last person* to examine it on its departure from thence.

“ I am, GENTLEMEN,

“ Your obedient and very humble Servant,

(Signed)

JOHN LEES, Secretary.”

(N. B. The words in *Italic*, were, in the original, underscored.)—*ibid.*

DECLARATION OF THE BELFAST YEOMANRY.

We, the undersigned members of the Yeoman Corps, having learned that many of our countrymen have formed erroneous ideas of our motives in associating under the Yeomanry Act—do individually declare: That our opinions are not changed—that we continue firmly attached to the rights and liberties of ALL the people of Ireland—and that the sole motive of our enrolment was and is, to assist in repelling foreign invasion, and to aid in protecting the persons and properties of ourselves and neighbours.

Belfast, 21st March, 1797.

BELFAST CAVALRY.

William Rainey, *1st Lieutenant*, Cortland Skinner, *2d Lieutenant*.

PRIVATES.

Samuel Smith,	John H. Houston,	Alexander Gordon,
Alexander Turnley,	Matthew Tuton,	Thomas Caven,
T. H. Smith,	Vesey Knox,	William Gregg,
C. Skeffington,	Bartholomew Fuller,	John Jocelyn,
Edward J. Smith,	Val. Joyce,	James M'Key,
James Bristow,	Samuel H. Batt,	Andrew Alexander,
T. L. Stewart,	James Moore,	William Clarke,
Moore Echlin,	John Rainey,	Jeremiah Dickson,
Thomas Herron,	James Hunter,	Samuel Hudson.

FIRST COMPANY OF BELFAST INFANTRY.

Rob. Wallace, *Capt.* Geo. Joy, *1st Lieut.* J. Turnley, *2d Lieut.*

SECOND COMPANY OF BELFAST INFANTRY.

John Brown, *Capt.* Rob. Gordon, *1st Lieut.* Jas. Joy, *2d Lieut.*

THIRD COMPANY OF BELFAST INFANTRY.

Narcissus Batt, *Capt.* J. M'Cartney, *1st Lieut.* T. Batt, *2d Lieut.*

GENERAL LAKE'S PROCLAMATION.

By order of the Officer commanding the Northern District.

WHEREAS, the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice by an organized system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as, from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects. And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his Majesty's commissions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms; it is therefore become indispensably necessary, for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the king's troops under my command: And I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require. I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace-officers, and those serving in a military capacity excepted,) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood. I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary. Let the people seriously reflect, before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing; let them reflect upon their present prosperity, and the miseries in which they will be inevitably involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly, by surrendering up their arms, and by restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue

themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit, in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods—and they may be assured of protection and support from me. And I do hereby invite all persons who are enabled to give information touching arms or ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his Majesty's forces in their respective districts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage, that strict and inviolate secrecy shall be observed with respect to all persons who shall make such communication; and that every person who shall make it, shall receive, as a reward, the full value of all such arms and ammunition as shall be seized in consequence thereof.

BELFAST, MARCH 13, }
1797. }

G. LAKE, Lieutenant-General,
Commanding the Northern District

FELONIOUS SEIZURE OF ARMS.

"Whereas, information has been received on oath, that on the night of Wednesday, the 15th March inst. a number of evil-minded persons in disguise, with their faces blacked, &c. forcibly entered the dwelling houses of some of the peaceable inhabitants of this town, put them in fear of their lives, and feloniously took therefrom fire arms and bayonets—

Now, we the undersigned magistrates, think it our bounden duty to call on the inhabitants of the town, to give their utmost aid to prevent a continuance of such practices, as the only means of preventing steps from being taken, which will be equally unpleasant to the magistrates, and to the town in general."—C. Skeffington, High Sheriff; John Brown, Sovereign of Belfast; G. Lake, Stewart Banks, Ezekiel Davis Boyd, William Bristow, Charles Ranken, Thomas Banks, Cortland Skinner, Waddell Cunningham.

ARMS.—March 31.—14 cars laden with arms were brought in here from the Co. of Down—21 cars with arms have been also brought in here within these few days.—(*Belfast News Letter.*)

ARRESTS.—April 14.—About half an hour after 8 o'clock, Col. Barber, with a party of Reay Fencibles, went to the house of John Alexander, Innkeeper, Peters' Hill in this town, and apprehended 21 persons assembled there; all of whom, with some persons seized at the same time, were immediately lodged in the artillery barracks, where they now remain.—(*Ibid.*)

April 15.—10 prisoners were brought in from London Derry.—(*Ibid.*)

COUNTY ANTRIM ASSIZES.

(From Northern Star.)

CARRICKFERGUS, APRIL 20.—The prosecutions carried on specially on the part of the Crown by Mr Beresford, representing the Attorney-General, and Mr Kemmis, the Crown Solicitor, have proceeded hitherto much in the same routine as those of which we have given some particulars in the other towns on the circuit.

Several persons have been tried for offences usually ascribed to United Irishmen, who have hitherto found their protection in the *Trial by Jury*. Only one of the prosecutors have yet been put into the dock, a person of the name of M'Cormick. But of the prodigious number of men of character and credit with whom the gaols are filled, it has fallen to the lot of very few to have the satisfaction of a trial. Scarcely one out of twenty but are left to linger in hopeless and melancholy confinement. New lists of proscription are made out—new warrants for High Treason issued, and numbers daily added to the black and inhuman catalogue. Since the Judges opened their Commission in this county, the arrests of suspicious persons have proceeded with vigour. Doctor Crawford of Lisburn, a physician of great eminence, and brother to the late amiable and celebrated physician of that name, of London, has been taken from his family to Dublin, the Rev. Sinclair Kelburn, Minister of the third Dissenting Congregation of Belfast, has been also arrested. Mr William M'Cracken, brother of the gentleman who has so long lain in Kilmainham gaol for High Treason, vainly petitioning for his trial; Mr Nixon, Apothecary; Mr Speer, Woollen Draper, and a great number of others whose names we have not learned, have been arrested within these few days—and names are talked of, of so distinguished integrity and honour, that it looks as if the felons alone were to remain outside of the gaols.

This may, perhaps, answer the end of deterring us from fol-

lowing the honest example of the regenerated and now happy inhabitants of Armagh. It may also frighten some weak minded jurors or timid witnesses. Though surely, when we consider that sheriffs are nominated by the crown—that these sheriffs (often placemen) return the jury—that in these new-fangled felonies the crown has a challenge without cause, of which the prisoner is deprived—that he has the influence of power and the public purse to contend against, one would suppose he came forward under sufficient disadvantages without recurring to such means.

A circumstance too curious to be omitted happened yesterday. Mr Joseph Cuthbert, who was prosecuted specially by the crown, on a charge of conspiring and aiding in shooting at John Lee, one of those persons committed by the Earl of Carhampton, on the information of Bell Martin, which lady was bound to prosecute, and actually attending, though not called upon to appear, was no sooner acquitted than a warrant for high treason was produced, signed by Lord Clonmell, and he was accordingly remanded to gaol, under a fresh detainer. One of the prisoner's counsels observed, that it looked as if his prosecutors were conscious that he would be acquitted, when they had provided themselves with this new authority for depriving him of his liberty.

Mr Weir, of Dunmurry, is one of those charged with high treason, who seems to have no hopes of being brought to trial.

When the number of persons who have been doomed to dungeons without trial, and sent into banishment without inquiry, or who have perished by military execution, shall be coolly brought forward in a more auspicious season, it will furnish a topic not less affecting than the bloodiest periods of the revolution of France. When the temper of the people upon whom this has been practised—their forbearance, their fortitude, and wisdom shall be known, it will furnish an ex-

ample as bright as any the page of history can boast. Let us not then be dismayed, our hopes will be yet crowned with success.—*JUSTICE WILL TRIUMPH, AND THAT SOON!*

On Tuesday a motion was made by Mr Sampson, on behalf of upwards of thirty persons who had been arrested by Colonel Barber, and confined in military prisons, to have them brought to the county gaol, in order to have the benefit of the gaol delivery. Mr Sampson stated that it was a gross misconduct in any man, particularly a magistrate, to commit men to any but the common gaol—it was not only against the genius and spirit of the Irish law, but against the express letter of the statute. In the custody of the civil gaoler they could have a copy of their committal, and so be informed with what offence they were charged; but here they were hemmed in from all inquiry, and no friend dare venture to approach for fear of the bayonets of the soldiery who guard them. That these things should be (as they often had) practised by military gentlemen from a neighbouring kingdom, who neither knew our laws nor customs, yet were created justices, was a matter more of pity than blame to them; unless they were possessed of intuition they must be grossly ignorant and incapable. But how gentlemen of this country, who, by law, should be appointed for *their property in the county where they reside, and their discretion and learning in the law*, solemnly sworn to do justice according to law, should err so grossly, was not to be accounted for. Mr Beresford here interposed, and moved that a magistrate of the county be at liberty to take examinations against the prisoners, from which it appeared that most of them had been confined without any examination for many days.—It is supposed that of course they will be transmitted, but whether to get a trial or not remains to be seen.—(*Northern Star.*)

ARRESTS.—This morning, about eight o'clock, seven ear-

riages, escorted by a troop of dragoons, set off from this place for Dublin, with the following persons, all charged with the common crime of treason:—Rev. Sinclair Kelburne, William M'Cracken, Henry Speer, Jacob Nixon, William Kean and William Templeton (both clerks in the Northern Star office,) James Burnside, John Barret, Thomas Jackson, Alexander Clark, Robert Neilson, William Cunningham, John Kennedy, James Greer, James Mehaffy, Hugh Kirkwood, Henry M'Manus, John Butcher, Daniel Tolan.—(*Northern Star*.)

SEIZURE OF PAPERS AT BELFAST.

Dublin, Saturday night, April 29.—This evening Mr Secretary Pelham presented a message from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons, stating that he had ordered to be laid before them a number of papers which had been seized in BELFAST, belonging to two Committees of United Irishmen, consisting of forty persons. He requested the Commons to take these treasonable papers into their immediate consideration, and adopt such steps in consequence thereof as they might think proper. His Excellency promises, for crimes of that nature, he will exert the utmost of those powers with which he was invested and would continue to pursue those measures which had already met the sanction of the house, for the protection of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and the preservation of the constitution, against those treasonable associations which threatened its subversion. This message was, at Mr Pelham's instance, referred to a secret committee, to be appointed by ballot on Monday. The ballot is to be framed by each member of the House throwing in a list of 15 such names as he thinks proper. Mr Grattan resisted the motion for appointing a secret committee, or confining the inquiry to the Province of Ulster, on the ground that the state of the nation should be gone into at large.—(*Northern Star*.)

Extracts from the papers found at the house of John Alexander, by Major Fox, and Mr Atkinson, high constable.—See the *Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons*, Dub. 1798, p. 45.

“ Entries in the minute-book seized by Mr Fox.—“ Resolved, that the secretary shall be known by the name of the 54th Secretary of United Irishmen of Belfast. *Resolved*.—That we will pay into the Baronal Committee, 2s. 8d per month. October 31, 1796. *Resolved*.—That three men be appointed to purchase pikes and poles for this society; and that if any man fairly tells any of these three that he is not able to purchase a pike, that he shall be furnished with one out of the fund of this society.

January 1, 1797.—*Resolved*.—That all money or subscriptions received shall go to the use of buying pikes.

Report from the Baronal Committee: *no date*.—County of Antrim, 22,922 men: Money, 78l 6s 8d.

Report of the County of Antrim: BELFAST.—Men 2,639, Guns 526, Bayonets 399, Pistols 88, Pikes 467, Ball Cartridges 12,130, Balls 15,953, Powder 566, Cannon 1, Mortar 1.

COUNTY TOTAL.—Men 23,059, Guns 2,659, Bayonets 982, Pistols 204, Pikes 2,346, Swords 85, Ball Cartridge 18,235, Balls 2,358, Powder 628½, Cannons 8, Mortar 1.”

There are several other lists of the number of men, quantity of military stores, &c. but they all appear to fall short of this one, it may therefore be presumed, that it had been drawn up a short time only before the seizure of the papers. The list dated April 11, 1797, estimates the number of men, of the county of Antrim, at 22,716. £. s. d.

April 11.—They received from the Aristocrats of Belfast, 374 4 6 which was laid out as follows:

Paid the committee appointed to attend the prisoners this circuit	283	15	0
Paid into the hands of different people to attend the prisoners out of this circuit	90	9	6
	374	4	6

Received from the societies of this county, as a voluntary subscription 356 | 10 | 2 |

Which was paid to the committee for the prisoner's use: the provincial reports that they have used every means to defend the prisoners at the time of trial.”

The system of domiciliary visits and arbitrary arrests never reigned in greater vigour under the tyranny of Robespierre, than it now does in Belfast: no age, no character, no profession is exempted. The best and most industrious of its inhabitants are daily marked out as objects of military or ministerial ven-

geance. Several have fled, unwilling to be immured in a dungeon without the hope of trial, and knowing that even an acquittal would only be the prelude to a fresh detainer. Formerly, Belfast exhibited every symptom of a busy trade, but we may soon expect to hear of it being a deserted and lifeless spot; a member in the confidence of administration having declared, that a certain military magistrate there had near 1000 warrants to execute.—(*Northern Star.*)

EDWARD NEWELL, THE INFORMER.

A CARD—I, ROBERT NEWELL, Jun. apprentice to Mr MOORE ECHLIN, attorney, having learned with unfeigned concern, that my brother, EDWARD JOHN NEWELL, *Miniature-Painter*, has been for some time past in the practice of going through the town of Belfast, disguised in the dress of a light-horseman, with his face blackened, and accompanied by a guard of soldiers, pointing out certain individuals, who have in consequence been immediately apprehended and put in prison, and that this practice has been repeated night after night, and a number of inhabitants of the town have been so taken up, and confined in barracks and military prisons. Now, however severely I feel the mortification of being driven to publish the misconduct of an unfortunate brother, I think it justice to my own character to express my abhorrence of so unworthy a proceeding.—If this unfortunate young man had become fairly acquainted with any fact which in conscience and honour he thought necessary to public justice to disclose, I should never have censured him either publicly or privately, had he come forward, and been fairly confronted with the accused; but to act the part of a secret and treacherous informer, is to do what, in my opinion, is a violation of every principle of conscience, honour, or manhood. This young man has been unluckily disconnected for some years past from his family and me. I trust that but for this circumstance he never could have fallen into such company, or such a course of life as he appears to have done.

35, Great Britain-street,
Dublin.

ROBERT NEWELL, Jun.
(MAY 5.)

SEIZURE OF ARMS.

May 5.—A few days ago, 4 carts, laden with arms, which had been seized in the neighbourhood of this place, were brought in, under an escort of the 22d Light Dragoons, and lodged in the artillery barracks.

The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the county of Antrim, convened by public notice from the high sheriff, at Ballymena, on Monday, May 8, 1797;—Hon. CHICHESTER SKEFFINGTON, High Sheriff, in the Chair, Mr LUKE TEELING, Secretary.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE.—We, the freeholders of the county of Antrim, in the kingdom of Ireland, feel it our indispensable duty to your Majesty, to ourselves, and to our country, at this awful crisis, to approach the throne, with a representation of our most intolerable and most unmerited sufferings; and we do conjure your Majesty, by that great covenant which binds the sovereign and the subject in the reciprocal duty of allegiance and protection, and in the awful presence of God, not to suffer those advisers, against whom we prefer our just complaints, to add to the catalogue of their offences, that of shutting your eyes or your ears to the dangers of your empire, or the miseries of your people.

They have involved us in a war, of which the motives and the conduct have marked their injustice and incapacity, and of which the disastrous event seems reserved by Providence as a dreadful example of unprovoked and frustrated oppression. Innoxious only to the enemy, its fury and havock have recoiled upon ourselves, in the waste of blood, in the profusion of treasure, in the destruction of private industry and happiness, in the depravation of public integrity, in the loss of character, in the decay of liberty, and finally, in the ruin of commercial credit.

Such are the fatal consequences which the empire has to charge upon the advisers of this most calamitous war, but they form only a part of the crimes and the sufferings which have deformed and degraded your kingdom of Ireland.

Your Majesty's ministers have laboured in this country, and with the most fatal success, to destroy the third estate of the legislature, and reduce the government to an arbitrary despotism, by bribing the representatives of the people to betray their constituents in parliament; and this crime, if capable of aggravation, they have aggravated by the most public avowal of the fact.

They have laboured with the most remorseless perseverance, to revive those senseless and barbarous religious antipathies, so fatal to morals and to peace, and so abhorrent to the mild and merciful spirit of the gospel.

They have answered our demands for a full and fair participation of the rights and privileges of the British constitution, and our just complaints of their rapacity, corruption, and oppression, by the most atrocious calumnies against our characters, and the most merciless prosecutions against our lives; and in order more effectually to organize their system of vengeance and servitude, they have endeavoured, through the medium of *Spies and Informers*, “those baleful instruments of despo-

tiſm," to deſtroy public confidence, and poiſon the intercourse of private life. They have employed the forms of that legiſlation of which they had deſtroyed the ſubſtance, in the enactment of penal laws, by which they have ſucceſſively abrogated the right of ARMS for ſelf protection, the right of being free from arbitrary arreſt and imprisonment, and that ſacred right of TRIAL by a JURY of our COUNTRY: Rights, for the protection of which, "the united will of a people reſolved to be free," called your Maſteſty's illuſtrious family to the throne.

One enormity only remained unattempted by your Maſteſty's miniſters, and upon that too they have at laſt preſumed to adventure: "to ſet up a prerogative avowedly againſt the law," and to let looſe upon your ſubjects all the horrors of licentious power and military force, by ſending hands of mercenaries in every direction, unattended, in general, by civil, or even military officers, to plunder the houſes (once the ſanctuaries of your faithful people,) of thoſe arms which were neceſſary for their protection and defence, which form ſuch an eſſential feature of diſcrimination between the freeman and the ſlave, and which, when aſſiſtance could not be obtained from your Maſteſty's miniſters, they VOLUNTARILY wielded in defence of your perſon and government.

Such are the meaſures by which the ſubmiſſion that the prerogative owes to the law has been blaſphemouſly diſclaimed; by which the conſtitution has given place to the bayonet, and the people have been put out of the protection of the peace, by which numbers of our fellow-ſubjects have been baniſhed without even the forms of a trial, or are daily crowded into dungeons, and this only becauſe they have dared to unite together in the vindication of common right, in the juſt and legal reſiſtance of common oppreſſion, in the kind and brotherly conſolation of common ſuffering.

Such, Sir, are the grievances of a people who know that their title to liberty is from God and nature, which no human law can abrogate, nor authority take away.

Had your Maſteſty's people of Ireland, "without regard to religious diſtinction," been fully and fairly repreſented in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, the evils of which we complain could never have exiſted. We do therefore implore your Maſteſty, as you value the happineſs of your people, to aid them in the ſpeedy attainment of that inextinguishable bleſſing.

We do hereby prefer to the juſtice of our king this our complaint againſt thoſe wicked and unprincipled miniſters, who, to the inſeparable calamities of war, have, with the moſt wanton cruelty, ſuper-added the horrors of inteſtine tyranny and proſcription, alike regardless of the rights of Ireland, and of the union and ſafety of the empire. And we pray your Maſteſty to diſmiſs them from your preſence and councils for ever.

The above Address was agreed to by the majority of the

freeholders of the county of Antrim, assembled by public notice at Ballymena, the 8th of May, 1797.—

CHICHESTER SKEFFINGTON, Chairman.

Resolved.—That our Chairman do transmit this Address to the Earl of Moira, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, requesting them, in the name of this meeting, to present the same to his Majesty.

The High Sheriff having left the Chair, and Mr EDWARD JONES AGNEW having been called thereto, it was *Resolved.*—That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the high Sheriff, for his readiness in calling the meeting, and for his very impartial and upright conduct this day in the Chair.

EDWARD JONES AGNEW, Chairman.
LUKE TEELING, Secretary.

DISAFFECTION OF THE MONAGHAN MILITIA.

May 8.—In consequence of a representation from Colonel Leslie to General Lake, stating that a number of men of the Monaghan Militia had acknowledged themselves guilty of being concerned in taking the Test of the Society of United Irishmen, at the same time shewing the greatest remorse and contrition for their conduct.—The General was pleased to intercede with his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for their pardon; and having received a favourable answer, ordered the regiment to parade in the square of the new barracks on Saturday May 6, when he met them accompanied by General Nugent. Having desired those implicated in this unfortunate business to advance, every man concerned, amounting to upwards of 70 in number appearing sensible of their error, and having promised future good conduct, and a renunciation of all such practices, threw themselves on the Lord Lieutenant's mercy. The General lamented the necessity there was of making some examples; for which purpose, a General Court Martial would assemble on Monday the 8th for the trial of those who had acknowledged their guilt, and were most deeply concerned; he then read that part of Mr Pelham's letter, which authorised him in his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's

name, to pardon those men who had repented of their crime, and in that public manner had implored mercy,—on which the men implored the General to return their grateful acknowledgements to his Excellency for this signal mark of his mercy towards them.—(*Belfast News-Letter.*)

May 15.—The General Court Martial, which was held here last week, on 4 privates of the Monaghan Militia; sat till Thursday, when a detail of the evidence was sent off to the Lord Lieutenant. The regiment are under orders to march with the prisoners to-morrow for Blaris Camp, when the sentence will, in all probability be made known to them.—(*ib.*)

We formerly mentioned that four of the Monaghan Militia had been tried by a Court Martial, but that we did not know the result. The following were the charges brought against DANIEL GILLAN—OWEN M'KENNA—WILLIAM M'KENNA, and PETER M'CARRON, Privates in his Majesty's 1st, or Monaghan regiment of Militia:

1st.—For exciting, causing, and joining in a mutiny and sedition in said regiment.

2d.—For not using their utmost endeavours to suppress said mutiny and sedition, being present thereat; and also, for not giving information without delay to their commanding officer, of such mutiny or intended mutiny, as soon as they came to the knowledge thereof. (Signed)

[Copy.] CHARLES LESLIE, Colonel of the Militia.

Upon which they were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. On Tuesday morning last, (16th) a strong guard of horse and foot, the latter composed of different regiments intermixed in files, came here from Blaris about eight o'clock for the purpose of taking, in conjunction with the whole Monaghan Regiment, the four unfortunate men to the Camp to

be shot. The interesting solemnity with which the Regiment marched out of town impressed very melancholy sensations; the prisoners were taken on cars accompanied by two Priests, and arrived at the place about 12 o'clock; they seemed very sensible of the awful change they were about to make, and at the same time behaved with the greatest firmness, choosing rather to die than become informers. About two o'clock they were shot, and immediately the whole line passed their dead bodies. The Monaghan Regiment returned to town in the evening.—(*Northern Star.*)

ARRESTS.—On Monday last several prisoners confined in the artillery barracks of this place, as disorderly persons, were sent on board the Tender, in the Lough, since when five more viz. Harry Fearne, Matthew Fearnie, O'Brien Fearnie, Michael Finlay, and Hugh Dillon, have been sent to the same place. A person of the name of William Stewart, was brought in on Wednesday from Armagh, upon which charge we have not yet heard, and yesterday a Bombadier from the Camp, was also lodged in the artillery barracks, upon a charge of disaffection. (*Belfast News-Letter.*)

May 19.—Ten cars loaded with entrenching tools, arrived at the artillery barracks.

May 23.—At 4 o'clock in the evening, Lieutenant General Lake directed Colonel Barber and Mr Fox, (Town Major,) to proceed, with as much expedition as possible, to the Cotton Manufactory of Robert Armstrong, on the Falls road; arriving there before two persons who were on the watch could give an alarm, they caught a Smith and his assistant, forging pikes, and on threatening them with immediate death they produced sixteen they had secreted in an adjacent house,

newly forged; a detachment from the Monaghan Militia, and some Yeomanry who followed, were so much incensed at seeing these implements of destruction, that they smashed the forge, and levelled it to the ground. The pikes were hung round the villains, who were marched prisoners to town.—More of these weapons have been since discovered.—(*ib.*)

May 25.—A Blacksmith, James Adams, from Island Magee, was brought in, by a detachment of the artillery. Some of the pikes were stuck through his hat, and others hung around him.—(*ib.*)

May 27.—Three cars were brought in here with pikes and other offensive weapons, which were lodged in the artillery barrack. In consequence of the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation, three people came in this morning, and having formally recanted their errors, took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty.—(*ib.*)

During the month of May, vast numbers of men, charged with seditious practices, were brought in from various parts of the neighbouring country and lodged in the artillery barracks in Ann-Street.*

June 3.—The Rev. Mr Barber of Rathfriland, was brought into town in a post-chaise, escorted by a party of the 22d Light Dragoons. Many prisoners were brought in, on this and the following days.

June 16.—The Magistrates continued to sit every day this week in the Exchange Rooms, administering the oath of allegiance to great numbers of the inhabitants, as well as people from the country. It is supposed they have already amounted to 5000.

* The remainder of our Extracts to the end of the Volume, are taken from the Belfast News-Letter. The Northern Star was completely suppressed this month.

June 17.—Moses Cochran, tailor, was apprehended on a charge of being concerned in seditious practices.

June 18.—At 5 o'clock in the morning, town Major Fox, and an officer's piquet of Highlanders, brought in from the townland of Ballygomartin, foot of the Black Mountain, 7 men, on a charge of conspiracy. The town Major and his party had gone out the preceding evening at 12 o'clock. The same day were brought into town twenty-one prisoners from Armagh and Glasslough, all charged with seditious practices. In the evening of the same day, (Sunday,) Thomas Houston, Surgeon here, was apprehended and committed to the artillery guard-house; and next morning on searching his house, a sliding board in the floor of the drawing-room was discovered, on removing which, between the floor and joists, a number of papers were found, among which were a large parcel of printed *Constitutions*.

June 20.—Five persons were brought in prisoners from Drumbo, and on Wednesday four more from the same place, and one from Lisburn, all charged with seditious practices.

At a Meeting of the ORANGE LODGE OF BELFAST, 19th June 1797. The Right Worshipful JAMES MONTGOMERY, Esq. Master in the Chair, it was

Resolved,—That we will, with our lives and fortunes, support and maintain his present Majesty King George the 3d, our happy Constitution, and the Succession to the Throne, in his Majesty's illustrious house.—That we will aid and assist, to the utmost of our power, all civil Magistrates, in the execution of their duty. And that we will use our utmost endeavour to suppress all riot and disorder, and support and maintain our ancient and honourable Society, in its truest intent and meaning.

(Signed)

JAMES MONTGOMERY, Master.

JOHN BROWN, Past Master.

JOHN GALT SMITH, Secretary.

21.—Messrs Robert and William Simms, after having been upwards of four months confined in Newgate, were admitted to bail, by order of Mr Secretary Pelham.

June 23.—Generals Lake and Nugent, attended by a party of dragoons, went to Ballynahinch and its neighbourhood in search of concealed arms.—Same day, two six-pounders were delivered up by Mr Adair Bell, of Ballymena, and lodged in the artillery barracks.

25.—Rev. Mr Stavely, of Knockbracken was apprehended while preaching in his meeting-house, by Colonel Barber and Major Fox, with a party of the military.

30.—Within these few days past seventeen prisoners were brought in from the counties of Down and Antrim, all charged with seditious practices; three car loads of arms have also been brought in from different parts of the country.

July 5.—The Masonic Lodges of Belfast, Nos. 272, 491, 550, 621, 687, 761, 762, and 763, entered into resolutions to “support, with our lives and fortunes, his present Majesty, George III, our happy constitution, and the succession to the throne in his Majesty’s illustrious house,”—and disclaimed and disavowed all connection with any traitorous society or rebellious association.”—Signed, JOHN M’CONNELL, *Chairman*, JAMES LAW, *Secretary*.—On the 6th inst. St Patrick’s Lodge, No 587, entered into similar resolutions.—MARCUS WARD, *Chairman*, CAMPBELL GRAHAM, *Secretary*.

11.—Dr Robert M’Gee, and nine other prisoners were sent in from Randalstown and Shane’s Castle by Lord O’Neill, and committed to the artillery guard-room, charged with seditious practices.

12.—The anniversary of the *Battle of the Boyne*, was celebrated by a great number of the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood, denominating themselves *Orangemen*, who marched in grand procession through the town. It is estimated that between 6 and 7000 were present. The permission of General Lake had been previously obtained.

19.—The wheels of one of the six, the late Belfast Volunteers, having been a waste piece of ground in Anne Street, the ningham Greg, Esq. that gentleman found appear before the Rev. William Bristow, Justice of the peace, and made oath that he “had no knowledge, directly or indirectly, of the four wheels concealed in the above-mentioned spot, and that he did not know any thing of a concealment of any part of the artillery.”—Mr Greg, at the same time, offered “a reward of £50 to any person who will discover those concerned in this transaction.” The wheels were discovered by Town Major Fox.

August 8.—The following arms were brought into the artillery stores:—1763 guns, 141 gun barrels, 376 pikes, 68 old swords and blades, 39 pistols, 544 bayonets, 5 swivels, 1 carronade, 2 halberts, and 2 pike shafts; and on the day following, 1062 guns, 312 bayonets, 256 pikes, 39 broken swords, 3 halberts, 1 carronade, 2 swivels, 1 iron gun, 21 gun barrels, 33 old pistols, and 2 six-pound shot, all from the county of Down.

26.—The Rev. Mr Stavely, Mr David Armstrong from Ballynahinch, Mr John M'Bernie from Saintfield, John Beary from Knockbain, and Edward M'Caffay, having been admitted to bail, were discharged from the artillery barracks.

It appears that in this month, so anxious were the United Irishmen for the arrival of the French, that “a few spirited men in Belfast, subscribed 500 guineas to send a person to France,” to hasten their landing.—*Report of Secret Committee*, p. 39.

September 21.—A petition from the proprietors of the Northern Star, for redress and damages, incurred by them in the destruction of their printing-office and property by a number of men in military dress, in the month of May last, was read,

mitted to the court (at Carrickfergus assizes). The damages were laid at £.4000 which it was contended by their council they had a right to recover from the county under the act of parliament in such cases made and provided. The act being produced and read, the judge was of opinion, that this case, for many reasons, did not come under the act. After a good deal of altercation betwixt council on both sides, one evidence was adduced—David Simms, one of the compositors of the Northern Star; but before his examination was finished, the council for the prosecutors having risen, and acknowledged that the *present case did not fall under the act*, this business, which otherwise, on account of the very great number of evidences to be called, would have engaged the attention of the court for many hours, was set aside without further investigation.

October 20.—John Hughes, bookseller and stationer in this town, having been apprehended at Newry on a charge of high-treason, was this forenoon brought in here in a post-chaise, escorted by a party of light dragoons, and lodged in the artillery barracks.—In the same evening he was liberated on bail.

November 5.—96 stand of arms were brought to the artillery barracks from Castlewellan, under an escort of yeomanry.

November 18.—Thirteen prisoners were sent off to Dublin, charged with seditious practices, and on Nov. 20, they were brought before the court of King's Bench, when the legality of their detention was examined by the court; Mr Emmet and Counsellor Sampson being council for the prisoners.—They were bailed to appear at the next assizes for the county of Antrim, and discharged.

1798.

January 2.—The sum of £.209 7s 5d (exclusive of the subscriptions of the yeomanry corps of Belfast,) were transmitted to London, in aid of the fund for the support of the widows, or-

phans, &c. of the seamen who were killed in the
between Lord Duncan and the Dutch fleet, on
October, 1797.

January 3.—A desperate attempt was made by the prisos
on board the Tender (87 in number,) lying in Belfast lough,
to seize the vessel, and procure their liberation; but principally
owing to the weight of the numbers that rushed up the ladder,
by which it was broken, their design was frustrated. The
lieutenant, midshipman and a few of the sentinels were wound-
ed. An insurgent of the name of Cassidy leaped overboard
and attempting to swim to shore, was shot in the water.

March 12.—The Belfast yeomen cavalry unanimously re-
solved, from the 1st instant to accept no pay from govern-
ment during the war.

March 23.—Within these two days past, several houses in
this vicinity have been searched for Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

April 9.—The four companies of the Belfast Infantry una-
niously agreed to do duty as a military corps in this town and
neighbourhood; and in case of *invasion, rebellion, or insurrec-*
tion to march wherever they may be ordered in this kingdom,
during the continuance thereof.

At a meeting of the Belfast cavalry, called in consequence
of a circular letter received by Captain Rainey from William
Elliot, Esq. Friday, April 13, 1798.

Resolved.—That as this troop consists chiefly of men deeply engaged
in mercantile pursuits, we ~~can~~ not at present undertake permanent duty.

But should the situation of the kingdom render a temporary removal
of the troops from Belfast necessary, we are willing to assist, as far as
our numbers will allow, in performing the duty of the garrison.

Resolved.—That we will practise our weekly exercise with unremit-
ting attention.

And in case of *actual invasion or rebellion*, we will undertake any duty
for the *defence or tranquillity* of our country.

Resolved.—That Captain Rainey shall transmit these our sentiments
the officer commanding the district.

May 22.—A reward of £300 was offered by the lord lieutenant and council for the apprehension of Samuel Neilson of Belfast, merchant. On the following day, Mr Neilson was taken up in Dublin on a charge of high treason, and committed to the new prison.

May 23.—The Belfast mail coach was attacked by a party of rebels, and burned at Santry, between Swords and Dublin

AN INDICATION OF THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REBELLION:

May 24.—The following notice was circulated by Major General Nugent in Belfast and neighbourhood :

"In consequence of the proclamation declaring martial law, Major General Nugent, commanding in the northern district, gives this public notice to the inhabitants of Belfast and its neighbourhood : That a guard under the direction of an officer, will be stationed at the artillery barracks and under the Exchange-Rooms, to receive arms of all kinds (including pikes,) and ammunition, which he expects will be delivered up by whatever persons may be in possession of them. The general will allow them until Monday night, at twelve o'clock, for this purpose ; after which time, if any of these articles are found in the house of any person whatever, his person and property must suffer for it. General Nugent will give strict orders that no person shall be molested, nor any question asked of him, who may bring arms or ammunition to the above mentioned place within the time limited. Those who have registered arms in their possession, are hereby required to deliver them up to a guard appointed to give receipts for them at the artillery barracks during the same period."

At night, Major General Barber surprised a committee of 33 people, assembled at the sign of the White Cross in Pottenger's Entry, and lodged them prisoners in the main guard. No papers appertaining to business were found on them. They pleaded being mostly a society of tailors, met in combination to increase their wages, which was fully proved by a manuscript book to that purpose, found on them. They were admitted to bail the day following.

May 25.—A notice, ordering the inhabitants to remain in their respective dwellings from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning, was this day published by Major General Nugent.

May 27.—MARTIAL LAW was proclaimed through the principal streets of this town, and the four companies of yeomanry entered on permanent duty. At night, various persons were taken up, and confined in the market-house, for being found in the streets after nine o'clock.

May 28.—A car-load of arms was brought into this town from the county of Down. John Kelso, an inhabitant, was this day sentenced by the court-martial to receive 800 lashes, for having concealed arms, and received 200. Another person was flogged at same time upon Kelso's information.

Same day an address was presented to General Nugent, signed by a number of the principal inhabitants, which was immediately forwarded to Dublin, for the approbation of government.

"At this momentous crisis, when rebellion has openly reared its head, we the subscribers, should think ourselves unworthy of the blessings of freedom, if we did not come forward to offer our services in support of our King and Country. We, therefore, request, Sir, that you will inform us in what manner we can be serviceable. We would wish to enrol ourselves a corps of Yeomanry, for the defence and preservation of the peace of this town and neighbourhood, every member to be approved by you. Our officers to be chosen from the members, and approved by the government. We propose to furnish our own clothes, and to act without any expence to government, except arms, which are not to be purchased."

May 29.—A Court Martial sits at the market-house daily, for the trial of such persons as shall be brought before them. Many prisoners continue to be brought in from the counties of Down and Antrim.

About 400 stand of arms have been delivered up in consequence of General Nugent's proclamation. This forenoon some concealed arms were found in a Carpenter's store in Donegall-street.

VOLUNTEER CANNON.

The following notice was this day signed by the inhabitants in general,

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, feel ourselves called upon, as men warmly attached to the interest of the town, and anxious to be instrumental in securing its safety, to conjure every person who has a knowledge of the place where the 6 field-pieces, formerly attached to the Volunteer Corps of this town, are deposited, to comply with the annexed notice from General Nugent.

We conjure them to reflect on the consequences that might otherwise result to many of their friends and neighbours, and we solemnly remind them that the guns are the public property of the town, and that no engagement can warrant any person or persons in withholding them against the voice of the town, so fully evinced by the following subscription."—(Signed by 154 names.)

"Major General Nugent gives the Public notice, that if any person will give information where the 6 brass field-pieces, lately attached to the Belfast Volunteer Corps, are to be found, by an Anonymous note addressed to him, or to the Sovereign, and put into the post office, on or before 9 o'clock on Thursday night 31st instant, he pledges himself that no injury shall be done either to the premises where they may be found, or to the proprietor of such premises, and he will attend himself to convey them away."

Belfast, May 28, 1798.

May 29.—Notice was given by General Nugent requiring all housekeepers

"To return forthwith, and from time to time, to me or to the Sovereign, the names and descriptions of all *strangers*, who are or shall be lodged in their houses, with an account of the places from whence they respectively came; the persons who shall wilfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons who give in false statements of their inmates, must in the present crisis abide the consequence of such neglect."

May 30.—Agreeably to information received by General Nugent, in an anonymous note, two of the brass Volunteer field pieces, were found secreted under ground, in a cow-house, belonging to Mr George Warnick in North-street; in the evening also, by information, two other pieces were found at the Short Strand, they were lodged in the artillery barracks. On the same day, a Merchant in this town gave information of his having two ship cannon in his premises. They were immediately sent for, and conveyed to the artillery barracks.

The two brass field-pieces, formerly attached to the Lisburn Volunteers, were yesterday given up at Lisburn by the persons who had them in custody. They are in good order, and are to be brought to this town.

——— Thompson, Cotton Printer, was sentenced by a Court Martial to 800 lashes for seditious practices; 200 of which he received, the remainder was remitted. Richard Magee of this place, and five other persons from the neighbouring towns, were sent on board the tender. Seven chaises, with prisoners arrived from Newry, and were lodged in the guard-house.

May 31.—A Tailor, belonging to this town, received fifty lashes, charged with seditious practices.

June 2—3.—A number of persons were sent on board the tender.

A notice was issued by General Nugent, announcing that many persons having left this and the neighbouring towns, since the late proclamation, he thinks it necessary to inform them, that unless they go for the purpose of residing at their houses in the country, it will be necessary for them to have *passes* for their protection, as the officers have directions to take up all persons who do not reside at their own houses, or cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves.

June 4.—Being the anniversary of the KING'S BIRTH, the troops in garrison and yeomanry fired a *feu-de-joye* in honour of the occasion. In the evening, the inhabitants testified their loyalty by a general and splendid illumination. [But, notwithstanding the previous notice (June 1,) of General Nugent, desiring that "candles should not be placed in shops and the lower apartments of houses," the peaceable inhabitants had many of their shops and parlour windows demolished for *complying* with the proclamation. The Belfast yeoman infantry were particularly active in this atrocious business. This fact is unnoticed by the *loyal* editor of the Belfast News-Letter, who asserts that "the day closed with the utmost good order."—EDITOR.] About 9 o'clock in the evening the streets, were marched from the barracks through the principal troops

accompanied with two pieces of cannon, and a party of the artillery, and at ten o'clock returned to their quarters.

A great number of the gentlemen and inhabitants were to have dined together in the same evening at the Exchange-Rooms, but in a consequence of a notice issued by General Nugent, forbidding all public entertainments, &c. till the country should be in a more settled state; it was deferred till a future day.

June 6—7.—Were apprehended here, Messrs William Tennent, John Hughes, Samuel Smith, Robert Hunter and servant, besides several others, all of this town.

June 7.—A detachment of the Monaghan militia and a party of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Derham, with the Belfast troop of yeoman cavalry, marched from this town to the ATTACK of the rebels at ANTRIM. On the following day they returned, with one of the brass field pieces lately attached to the volunteer corps, which they had taken from the rebels.

Upon receipt of the intelligence of the assemblages of rebels at Larne, Glenarm, &c. the utmost exertion was used by General Nugent, not only to frustrate and defeat their designs, but to prevent any communication with any disaffected persons that might be in Belfast: sentinels were placed at all the outlets from town, with orders to let no person pass, those coming to and from market only excepted.

In the evening, a number of the inhabitants received arms, and formed a SUPPLEMENTARY CORPS.

Belfast, June 8, 1796.

We, whose names are underwritten, considering ourselves called upon, as loyal subjects, at this momentous crisis, to stand forward in defence of our king and country, and of the properties of ourselves and fellow-subjects in this town and neighbourhood—have this day, with the approbation of General Nugent, enrolled ourselves as a supplementary division of the corps of yeoman infantry, under the command of Captain Wallace; agreeably to an act of parliament—to clothe ourselves, and serve without pay.

(Signed.)

John Holmes,	William Magee,	Victor Coates,
James T. Kennedy,	John Cunningham,	Patrick Connor,
Henry Joy,	Thomas Whinnery,	James Ferguson,
William Bruce,	Robert Linn,	John Johnston,
Patrick Vance,	Hugh Crawford,	David Tomb,
Alexander Blackwell,	John Sloan,	Allen Barklie,
Samuel Brown,	Robert Callwell,	Robert Hyndman,
Henry Rowan,	Robert Wirling,	William Magee,
William Seed,	Robert Patterson,	John Hamilton,
James Williamson,	John M'Cammon,	William Spencer,
John Forcade,	B. Stevenson—as Surgeon,	J. Kennedy, Jun.
William Emerson,	James Carson	William Ritchie,
Thomas Brown,	James Luke,	George Sloan,
Thomas M'Comb,	Robert Mathews,	Hugh Magill,
	<i>And seventeen others.</i>	

During these disturbed times, several gentlemen and their families have, within these few days, came in from their country seats to reside in town; and number of ladies, and their families, sailed from this Port for England and Scotland.

June 12.—The insurrection broke out in the County of Down, in consequence of which, this town is crowded with families, who have fled here for shelter from the rebels.

William Magill was executed on a lamp-post, opposite the Market-house, pursuant to sentence of Court Martial, for swearing soldiers from their allegiance.

BATTLE OF BALLYNAHINCH.

June 12.—In consequence of orders from Major General Nugent, the troops quartered in this town, consisting of the 22d Light Dragoons, Monaghan Militia, Fifeshire Fencibles, and Yeoman cavalry and infantry corps, with their different pieces of cannon, and a detachment of the Royal Irish artillery, commanded by Major General Barber, marched out (at eleven A. M.) to meet the rebels encamped at Saintfield. These troops were replaced by 200 of the Loyal Tay Fencibles from Carrickfergus, a party of the Breadalbane Fencibles, and a troop of the 24th Light Dragoons from

Armagh. Immediately after the troops left town, the inhabitants were ordered to shut their shops and keep in their houses, and remain quiet. Sentinels were placed at the different streets and avenues of the town, to prevent any disturbance. On the arrival of the troops at Saintfield, the rebels retreated to Ballynahinch, where they were completely routed that day and early the following morning.

The Cannonading was distinctly heard in this town during the action.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, the shops were shut, the streets and avenues guarded by the Loyal Tay and Breadalbane Fencibles, the Yeomanry corps, and the 1st Company of Supplementary Yeomen, and no person was allowed to be on the street, but the military. This restriction was taken off when the army returned about 4 p. m. on Wednesday. They had with them eight swivels taken from the insurgents, two stands of colours, a jacket taken from one of their chiefs, who was killed, a few pikes, and three barrels of gunpowder. Three prisoners were also brought in; and in the evening two more, by a detachment of the Belfast cavalry. Many of the soldiers were loaded with plunder taken from the houses of the insurgents, a great number of horses were also brought in.

On the following day, three car loads of arms were sent in by the insurgents in the county of Down, and deposited in the artillery barracks. Three troops of the Lancashire Light Dragoons, arrived here on Wednesday evening, and three the following day from Carrickfergus, where they landed from Portpatrick.

On Tuesday, Richard McClelland Surgeon and Druggist, and John Campbell, Apothecary, were taken into custody.

On Thursday, the principal Merchants gave notice, that "wishing in this momentous crisis, to accommodate, as far as in our power, the troops who have so gallantly stood forth in defence of our lives and properties, have resolved, that

during the continuance of the present disturbances, to receive, in all cases, notes of the bank of Ireland, as cash, and exhort all our fellow-subjects in town and country to do the same.

150 pikes, and a few old muskets, were given up at Donaghadee, and brought to this town by the Belfast cavalry.

Mr George Warnick, in whose house too of the volunteer cannon were lately found, was apprehended in Newry, posting, under a fictitious name, with a forged pass; as was also Alexander Clark, clock-maker of this town, having a forged pass. They were both brought into town on Thursday, and lodged in the New Inns, now converted into a prison.

In the course of Sunday, (June 16) upwards of 40 prisoners were brought in here, some from the neighbourhood of Newtownards, and others from that of Antrim; among whom are three clergymen.

There are about 180 prisoners at present confined in this garrison. A prison ship now lies in the Lough for the reception of such persons whose trials are not expected soon to take place. She is about 300 tons burthen.

June 17.—A detachment of the Fifeshire Fencibles, and a party of the Monaghan Militia, marched for the neighbourhood of Saintfield and Comber, to put the proclamation in execution, by destroying the houses of the insurgents, unless they deliver up their arms and leaders.

June 18.—The Sutherland Fencible Highlanders, 1,100 strong, commanded by Colonel Weyms, arrived this day from Scotland.

The Scotch Royals arrived this morning in the Lough.

DECLARATION OF THE YEOMAN CAVALRY.

June 18.—At this awful period, when a most savage and unnatural rebellion has broken out in some parts of this kingdom, the Belfast Troop of Yeoman Cavalry think a gene-

ral declaration of loyalty and fidelity to his Majesty and the constitution absolutely necessary.

*Resolved, therefore,--*That every member of the troop, and all persons who may hereafter be admitted, shall subscribe the following declaration :—

We, whose names are, hereunto subscribed, in the presence of God, do solemnly declare our utter abhorrence and detestation of all foreign interference in the affairs of this kingdom, of the atrocious insurrection now existing, and of all secret cabals and private conspiracies to subvert or new-model the constitution, without the joint consent of King, Lords, and Commons in parliament ; and that we will use our utmost endeavours to defeat the designs of all seditious and disaffected persons, whether existing under the denomination of United Irishmen, or other traitorous association.

(Signed)

W. Rainey, Captain,	Samuel H. Batt,	George Lepper,
C. Skinner, } Lieuts.	James Bristow,	Robert Bradshaw,
S. Smith, }	Thomas Knox Mason,	T. E. Stewart,
J. H. Houston, } Sergeants	John S. Ferguson,	Edward May, Jun.
J. Dickson, }	Edward S. Smith,	Anthony O'Connor,
J. Smith, }	J. Salt Smith, Jun.	Alexander Turnly,
A. Gordon, } Corporals	John Cranston,	Francis Hamilton,
M. Lepper, }	John Holmes, Jun.	Morgan Jellet,
Belfast,	William Gregg,	Cunningham Greg,
C. Strangton,	George Langtry,	Alexander Hill,
John Jocelyn,	James Joyce,	Bartholomew Fuller,
Vesey Knox,	George Sinclair,	Val. Joyce,
Arthur Chichester,	John Ferguson,	N. Grimshaw, Jun.

James Douglas, and nineteen others.

June 25.—Meetings were held by two congregations of protestant dissenters in town, when addresses to the Marquis Cornwallis were unanimously agreed to, “ congratulating his Excellency on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and commander in chief. They express, in the warmest terms, their respect for his Excellency’s wisdom and virtue, their loyalty to their king, and attachment to the constitution. They declare an abhorrence of all foreign interference in the affairs of Ireland,” &c.

June 26.—Sensible of the essential services rendered to the country by the exertions of the Yeomanry of Ireland in general, and more especially convinced that the expence and loss of time occasioned by military duty, are disproportioned to the circumstances of many of the

Belfast Infantry.—We, who are debarred from present service by inability, or indispensable avocations, are anxious to testify our readiness to co-operate with our countrymen in arms, by every means in our power. We, therefore, hereby agree to pay the sums annexed to our names, for the purpose of forming a fund for the assistance of such members of the yeomanry corps of Belfast, as may be reduced to distress by any accident or calamity attending the service."

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
William Bristow,	11	7	6	Robert Thomson	5	13	9
C. Ranken,	56	17	6	Gilbert McIlveen	5	13	9
J. Ewing	25	0	0	John Russell	11	7	6
Val. Jones	5	13	9	Thomas Cumthong	22	15	0
Val. Jones, Jun.	11	7	6	Samuel Gibson	5	13	9
William Magee	11	7	6	John Clarke	5	13	9
Hugh Crawford	11	7	6	A. J. Barnett	5	13	9
Robert Getty	5	13	9	Samuel Woolsey	5	13	9
Thomas Stewart	11	7	6	William Burgess	5	18	9
James Mc'Donnell,	5	13	9	J. Cunningham	11	7	6
John Sinclair	11	7	6	Hugh Cairns	11	7	6
T. & W. Sinclair	22	15	0	Francis Davis	5	13	9
Thomas Lyons	11	7	6	Andrew Pinkerton	3	8	3
John Robinson	11	7	6	(And others.)			

The trial of JAMES DICKENS, (attorney from Cromlin) charged with treason and rebellion at Antrim on the 7th of June, commenced at the Exchange rooms. On Thursday the prisoner was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, and his head cut off and placed on the market-house, which sentence was put in execution the same evening between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock.

June 28, 29.—The Sutherland Fencibles marched from this town for Dundalk.

June 29.—About 2 o'clock the court proceeded on the trial of JOHN STOREY, Printer of Belfast, who was charged with being a rebel leader at the battle of Antrim. The prisoner being found guilty, was, on the following day hanged at the market-house, and the head being severed from the body, was placed on a spike on the top of the market-house.

July 2.—WILLIAM KEAN, a prisoner charged with treason and rebellion, made his escape from confinement.—A general search was immediately made throughout all the houses in

town, and a notice from James Derham, Colonel Commandant, published—calling on the inhabitants to assist in discovering and delivering up said Kean, “ who is now concealed or harboured in some part of this town. And shall it be found hereafter, that said traitor has been concealed by any person or persons, or by the knowledge or connivance of any person or persons of this town and its neighbourhood, or that they or any of them have known of the place of his concealment, and shall not have given notice thereof to the commandant of this town, such person’s house will be *burned*, and the owner thereof *hanged* ! ”

Vast numbers of prisoners still continued to be brought in from the country.

A court of inquiry continues to sit at the New Inn, for the purpose of ascertaining the charges against the persons in custody. Those that have not been very active, are either discharged or sent on board the tender ; but such whose guilt appears manifest, supported by creditable witnesses, are given up to be tried by court-martial.

July 6.—24 persons were sent on board the tender ; on the 7th twenty-one, and on the 11th and 12th, upwards of sixty.

HUGH GRIMES, found guilty of being a rebel leader at Creevy Rocks and at Ballynahinch, was hanged at the market-house.

11.—HENRY BYERS being found guilty of treason and rebellion at Ballynahinch, was this day hanged, and his head being severed from his body, was placed on a pike on the market-house.

To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

This is to give notice, that if any person is taken up by the patrols after ten o’clock, he will be fined five shillings for the benefit of the poor. If the delinquent is not able to pay five shillings, he will be brought to a drum head court-martial, and will receive—100 lashes.

JAMES DERHAM, Colonel Commandant.

13.—The Belfast Cavalry were put off permanent duty as were the infantry on the 4th of August.

7.—This day came on the trial of H. JOY M'CRACKEN, for being in arms at Antrim on the 7th of June. Being found guilty, the prisoner was hanged at five o'clock in the evening: his body was given to his friends.

19.—The entire yeomanry of Belfast were inspected by Brigade Major Haughton. The total number belonging to Belfast, regularly armed, clothed, and disciplined, is upwards of 400, of whom 60 are cavalry.

30.—A meeting was held to appoint a treasurer and committee, and transact other business relative to the disposal of the money subscribed for clothing, &c. for the Belfast yeoman infantry. Mr Samuel Brown was appointed treasurer, and the Hon. C. Skeffington, Val. Jones, Jun. John Ewing, Thomas Lyons, John Robinson, Hugh Crawford, and Charles Ranken, a committee.

The following additional subscriptions were received :

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		
William Johnston	-	3	8	3	William M'Cance	-	11	7	6
Henry Haasett	-	5	13	9	William Napier	-	2	5	6
George M'Ferran	-	2	5	6	Robert Greenlaw	-	2	5	6
Dr A. Haliday	-	5	13	9	Marquis of Donegall	}	200	0	
Andrew Pinkerton	-	3	8	3	(second subscription)				
David M'Tear	-	5	13	9	George Myers	-	1	2	9
Hugh Hyndman	-	5	13	9	William Stevenson	-	11	7	6
Robert Hodgson	-	1	2	9	John Luke	-	2	5	6
Campbell Sweeny	-	4	11	0	Patton & M'Allister	-	2	5	6
Alexander Black	-	2	5	6	Hugh Wilson & Son	-	5	13	9
John Tisdall	-	2	5	6	Boomer & Watt	-	4	11	0
Isaac Patton	-	3	8	3	James M'Cleery	-	2	5	6
John Ashmore	-	3	8	3	Miss Patterson	-	2	5	6
William Bateson	-	11	7	6	James Holmes	-	11	7	6
Sam. & And. M'Clean	-	3	8	3	Adam M'Clean	-	2	5	6
(And others.)									

(And others.)

August 10.—The guards placed on the different outposts of this town were taken off, and the extra Staff attached to Major-General Nugent, discontinued.

At night, two houses were set fire to in Upper Malone. The piquet of the Lancashire light dragoons, immediately, on observing the fire, hastened into town; and between the time they had passed Bridge-street to give the alarm, till they were ready to go out with assistance, a rope was fixed across the street, which nearly overturned three or four the dragoons going out.

17.—The heads of DICKEY, BYERS, and STOREY, were, by order of General Nugent, taken off the market-house.

21.—“The accounts from Belfast do not present a shorter list of military executions than usual. *A Dozen* per day seem to be about the number of unfortunate men who suffer!!” (*London Courier*.)—The total number, who have suffered in the town since the commencement of the rebellion, amounts only to six persons. Within the above period, 27 persons have been executed in the province of Ulster—a number comparatively small, considering how many were implicated.—(*Belfast News-Letter*.)

28.—Intelligence having been received of the landing of the French at Killala, the Belfast yeoman infantry were again put on permanent duty; and the Monaghan militia, and the different yeomanry corps received orders to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning.

September 7.—Strong patrols of cavalry have been set out on the roads leading from this town these few night's past. On Tuesday night about 150 persons were taken up, and confined in the Donegall-Arms during the night, being found in the street after nine o'clock.

October 15.—A subscription was entered into on behalf of those who were wounded, and the widows and children of those who fell in the actions with the French and rebels during the late invasion.

Nov. 20.—The south range of building of the linen-hall, occupied for some time past as a horse barrack, was completely destroyed by an accidental fire.

December 28.—On Tuesday last, a number of persons who were confined in the prevet prison, were sent on board a prison ship lying in the lough.—Prisoners still continue to be brought in from the country.

DECLARATION.

We, the subscribers, Inhabitants of the town and suburbs of Belfast, who are not enrolled in any military corps, having seen the declaration of the Belfast troop of yeoman cavalry, do highly approve of the same, &c.—(See page 487.)

Wm. Bristow <i>Sovereign</i> ,	Stewart Banks,	Val. Jones,
Robert Thomson,	Thos. Lyons, <i>Old Park</i> ,	A. Halkday,
Thomas Stewart,	John Galt Smith,	Alexander Orr,
William Magee,	John Ashmore,	G. M'Ilveen, Jun.
James Alex. M'Crea,	Henry Walsh,	Hercules M'Comb,
John Cunningham,	John Ewing,	Samuel Woolsey,
John Kirkpatrick,	James Harper,	R. Wallace <i>Bridge-st</i>
William Burgess,	John Luke,	Robert Telfair,
John Hughes,	Thomas Hughes,	John Robinson,
Hu. Graham <i>Carrick Hill</i> ,	John Knox,	George Forcade,
John Sinclair,	Hugh Hyndman,	Thomas Ash,
Andrew J. Barnett,	William Bell,	Hugh Cairns,
T. O'Neill, 2d Academy	Robert Grogan	Edward Lindsay
John Tisdall	James Ainsworth	Christopher Strong
Isaac Moreland, Lodge	George Bradford	James Abernethy
William Radcliffe	Francis Davis	John Getty
James Kilbee	Wm. Thompson, jun.	James Suffern
		(and 42 others.)

1799.

March 25.—Robert Hunter, Robert Simms, William Tennent, and Rev. Steele Dickson, were put on board the vessel in which the state prisoners were conveyed from Dublin, [viz. Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, John Chambers, Arthur and Roger O'Conner, John Swiney, Edward Hudson, Joseph Cormick, W. J. M'Neven, Matthew Dowling, Thomas Russel, Hugh Wilson, William Dowdall, George Cumming, Samuel Neilson, and Joseph Cuthbert.] In the afternoon, she sailed for her destination, which is understood to be Fort George in Inverness-shire Scotland.

April 21.—A Court Martial met at the Donegall Arms.

April 27.—Ten prisoners were brought in and lodged in the prevot prison by a party of horse and yeoman infantry, from Antrim, under the command of Lieutenant Murphy.

May 17.—GEORGE DIXON (who called himself General Holt,) having been found guilty by the court-martial of treason and rebellion, robbing his Majesty's soldiers of their arms, and assisting the rebels at Randalstown on the 7th June, 1798, &c. was this day brought from the prison to the market-house, and after spending some time in devotion, was launched into eternity a little after one o'clock. The rope by which he was at first suspended giving way, he, in the act of falling, caught hold of the ladder, and then remained till it was adjusted.—Like some similar culprits who had lately suffered, he would not allow his face to be covered.

The court martial sat from the 20th to 30th May, and condemned several prisoners to serve the King of Prussia.

The court martial at the Donegall-arms was dissolved on the 13th June.

June 6.—A man was brought into the prevot with a pike.

June 22.—Two men were lodged in the prevot.

July 2.—It is computed that Linen Cloth to the amount of £100,000 was exported from this port in the course of last week.

October 4.—The noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Antrim, to the amount of 1500, signed and published a declaration in favour of a legislative UNION between Great Britain and Ireland.

October 7.—His Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, arrived at the Marquis of Donegall's house about three o'clock, and was immediately waited upon by the sovereign and burgesses, who presented him with the freedom of the corporation and the following address :—

*To his Excellency CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, Lord
Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.*

May it please your Excellency,

We, the Sovereign and Burgesses of the Corporation of Belfast, beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your arrival in this town, and to assure you that we are impressed with sentiments of lively gratitude for the important benefits which have resulted to this kingdom from the humanity, wisdom, and firmness of your Excellency's administration.

Convinced that a Legislative Union with Great Britain founded on equal and liberal principles, will be productive of interior concord and tranquillity to this nation, and of general power, happiness, and consequence to the empire at large.—We take this opportunity of expressing to your Excellency our approbation of the discussion of the measure in Parliament, under a firm conviction that in compliance with the recommendation of our most excellent and gracious Sovereign, such a system of Union will be agreed on by the Legislatures of the two countries as will effectually remove distrust, banish jealousies, and equalize the reciprocal interest of the Sister Kingdoms.

Entertaining the highest respect and esteem for your Excellency's character, we request permission to have the honour of enrolling your Excellency's Name among the Freemen of this Town.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following answer:—

To the Sovereign and Burgesses of the Corporation of Belfast.

I feel most sensibly the flattering expressions with which you have honoured the conduct of my Administration.

It likewise affords me the highest gratification to find that the flourishing and populous town of Belfast concurs with me in the desire that the important measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain, founded on equal and liberal principles, should undergo a cool and prejudiced discussion; persuaded as I am that it opens the fairest prospect for composing the jealousies and animosities which have so long distracted this kingdom, and for securing in future the liberty and welfare of the whole British Empire.

I accept with great satisfaction the honour of the Freedom of the Town of Belfast.

In the evening his Excellency was entertained at dinner in the Donegall Arms, by the principal merchants and gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood.

About this time the Orange lodge of Belfast, No. 145, published resolutions in favour of the Union.

Dec. 13.—A general Court Martial sat in Belfast.

Frequent murders were perpetrated about this time in the County Antrim.

Dec. 29.—The four companies of Belfast Infantry, a detachment of the Belfast Troop, and one of the 23d Dragoons, under the command of Major Haughton, marched at nine o'clock from town, and completely scoured the whole parish of Carnmoney, and brought in seven prisoners, who were lodged in prison.

1800.

April 8.—This morning upwards of 40 persons were brought in prisoners from the parish of Carnmoney suspected of malpractices.

1801.

January 1.—The UNION FLAG was hoisted at the market-house, and at one o'clock a royal salute was fired by the royal artillery in garrison, in consequence of the Legislative Union between the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland taking place.

BELFAST:

Printed by George Berwick.



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